Magnificence in the Seventeenth Century

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Magnificence in the Seventeenth Century

Performing Splendour in Catholic and Protestant Contexts

Edited by

Gijs Versteegen
Stijn Bussels
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Introduction

Gijs Versteegen and Stijn Bussels

The 2,500-year celebration of the Persian Empire under the last Shah, the heavyweight championship between Foreman and Ali in Mobutu's Zaire, the construction of buildings in Paris ranging from the Centre Pompidou to Mitterrand's Pyramid, Trump Tower, and more recently Putin's Winter Olympics in Sochi, all generated enormous public interest because of their lavish expenditure, which was largely linked to specific rulers. Time and again, questions regarding the tastefulness or tastelessness of such expenditure have resonated loudly. Could the money have been spent in a better way and for better purposes? This can be a dangerous question, paving the way to revolt – as the Shah, among other rulers, would learn very soon after the commemorations of 1971. Although a topical issue in past decades, the legitimacy of spending enormous sums on public festivities and buildings had already been debated for many centuries. Nevertheless, each period and each culture makes its own claims, lays down its own preconditions, and expresses its own concerns about exceptionally lavish spending.

In Western thought, the concept of magnificence played a central role in discussions on great expenditure. The Cambridge Dictionary defines magnificence as 'the state of being very good, beautiful, or deserving to be admired'.[1] The Pyramids and a landscape are given as examples. Thus, in modern English the concept is closely connected to particular objects and their capacity to elicit esteem. However, throughout the history of the concept, an object was seldom seen as magnificent on its own. Magnificence was only very rarely taken out of a social context, and was most often related to the occasion for which the magnificent object was made, as well as the person(s) responsible for its creation. Even a landscape regarded as magnificent was viewed primarily in connection with persons, be it the implied presence of the designer or as a result of the beholder who views if through the lens of a particular mindset.[2] Hence, magnificence functioned as a virtue that could be related to specific

1 https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/magnificence (accessed: 01.08.2019).
2 Bellavitis M., "The Dukes of Este and the Garden as Scenery and Representation of the Magnificence of a Dynasty", *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 37, 4 (2017) 321–335. Cf. Barlow Rugers E., *Landscape Design: A Cultural and Architectural History* (New York: 2001).

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persons. It was open to debate, and thus the concept touched upon ethics, rhetoric, theology, politics, economics, and literary and art theory.

In order historically to clarify how magnificence is a social construct, this book focuses on the seventeenth century in Europe. Although this period has previously been described as the 'Age of Magnificence', thus far no attempts have been made to examine how the term and the concept of magnificence functioned.[3] This is all the more surprising as the period is strongly defined by the consolidation of religious difference, by the clash between growing absolutism and the success of republics, and by the increasing importance of *nouveaux riches* in the public space. The authors featured here look at the ways in which these crucial social developments interacted with thought on magnificence. Therefore, they put the focus on expressions of splendour in the broad sense of *magnum facere* (the Latin term from which 'magnificence' derives): from spectacular civic and courtly festivities entailing impressive displays of painting and sculpture in rich architectural settings to the fashioning of grandeur in everyday practices through luxurious attire, exclusive etiquette, and grand households, as well as in social interactions as diverse as religious cults and warfare, hunting and diplomacy. Moreover, they go beyond 'usual suspects' such as Louis XIV (1638–1715) or the Baroque popes, crossing national borders in order to explore the influence of different religions, political formations, and cultural traditions on the use of magnificence.

Nicomachean Ethics

We find an early and extremely important contribution to the debate on the legitimacy of great expenditure in the *Nicomachean Ethics*.[4] In these notes from lectures given at the Lyceum, Aristotle (384–322 BC) famously defines the concept of magnificence (*μεγαλοπρέπεια*) as a virtue concerned with wealth:

> Magnificence (*μεγαλοπρέπεια*) is a fitting expenditure involving largeness of scale. But the scale is relative; for the expense of equipping a warship is not the same as that of heading a diplomatic mission. It is what is fitting, then, in relation to the agent, and to the circumstances and the object. The man who in small or middling things spends according to the merits of the case is not called magnificent, but only the man who does so in great things. For the magnificent man is liberal, but the liberal man is

3 Snodin M. – Llewellyn N. (eds.), *Baroque: Performance, Pomp and Power. Style in the Age of Magnificence, 1620–1800* (New York: 2009).

4 Athanassoulis N., "A Defence of the Aristotelian Virtue of Magnificence", *Value Inquiry* 50 (2016) 781–795.

> not necessarily magnificent. The deficiency of this state of character is called niggardliness, the excess vulgarity, lack of taste, and the like, which do not go to excess in the amount spent on right objects, but by showy expenditure in the wrong circumstances and the wrong manner (4.2).[5]

Aristotle thus makes it clear that not everyone can perform magnificence. The magnificent man needs to be able to spend a large sum of money. However, simply spending is not enough. It has to be done in a manner appropriate to the occasion. The golden mean between avarice and extravagance has to be found as well. A rich man can spend too little as well as too much money and may thus fail in the performance of magnificence. Moreover, mere showing off has to be avoided.

The extreme difficulty of performing magnificence is compared to the artistic process of creating a true work of art, since Aristotle further explains the virtue of magnificence by stating that 'the magnificent man is like an artist; for he can see what is fitting and spend large sums tastefully'. Here the Aristotelian concept becomes auspicious for our examination of the functioning of magnificence in the seventeenth century. The reference to artists raises interesting questions, such as how far it might be related to the exceptional status granted to artists at European courts.

However, the Aristotelian concept of magnificence can be applied on a more general level as well. In his inspiring essay "The Classic Origins of Italian Renaissance Lifestyles", the Italian economic historian Guido Guerzoni defines the importance of *μεγαλοπρέπεια* beyond his own research domain of fifteenth-century Italy. Guerzoni regards the importance of the Greek concept as no less than 'the intellectual bases of twenty-five centuries of consumption patterns that were not conspicuous nor flaunted, but burdened by the weight of inevitable social obligation'.[6] We fully agree with Guerzoni. Throughout the ages, the preconditions Aristotle established for true magnificence were taken into consideration time and time again, in defining and redefining whether large sums of money had been rightly spent, with the intentions, taste, descent, and wealth of the spender as central parameters, along with the social relevance of the expenditure.

5 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. and trans. W.D. Ross (Sitwell: 2005).

6 Guerzoni G., "Liberalitas, Magnificentia, Splendor: The Classic Origins of Italian Renaissance Lifestyles", *History of Political Economy* (1999) 332–378, at 345.

1 Roman Antiquity

Let us now briefly survey the long history of the Greek concept up until the seventeenth century. To start this overview, it is important to note that magnificence in its original Greek context always signified an interaction between a rich individual and his community, his polis. The idea of a rich man spending money purely on himself was not envisaged. In the Roman period, however, *magnificentia* was increasingly regulated, precisely by setting it against private pleasures. *Magnificentia* became more and more related to the counter-concept of *luxuria*.[7] Cicero (106–43 BC) discusses the limits of spending money in *Pro Murena*, stating succinctly that 'Roman people hate private luxury, but like public magnificence' (36.76).[8] Excessive spending on indulging in one's own pleasures and lusts was generally condemned, but similar or even larger sums could be spent on serving a more general purpose. Nevertheless, even in public expenditure, Cicero establishes a clear hierarchy in which the construction of walls, arsenals, ports, and aqueducts prevails over the building of theatres and porticoes. Some decades later the architect Vitruvius (c. 80–70 BC–after c. 15 BC) enforces Augustus' appeal for virtuousness by attacking the ostentatious decoration on view in the homes of decadent elites, as well as those of the burgeoning newly rich. He differs from Aristotle in that he no longer regards their houses as quasi-public spaces and defines the decoration as detrimental luxury.[9]

The performance of magnificence furthermore became increasingly associated with concrete political situations.[10] Thus magnificence could only be performed if a proper public cause was served. The best interests of Rome and her citizens were central to evaluating the appropriateness of the cause. This can be seen clearly in reflections on tyrannical rule. Tacitus (c. 56–c. 120 AD),

7 Berry C., *The Idea of Luxury: A Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge: 1994), Kloft H., "Überlegungen zum Luxus in der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit", in Strubbe J. – Tybout R. – Versnel H.S. (eds.), *Energeia: Studies on Ancient History and Epigraphy Presented to H.W. Pleket* (Amsterdam: 1996) 34–45, Nichols M.F., "Vitruvius on Vermilion: Faberius' Domestic Décor and the Invective Tradition", *Arethusa* 49, 2 (2016) 317–333 and Pietalä-Castren L., *Magnificentia publica: The Victory Monuments of the Roman Generals in the Era of the Punic Wars* (Helsinki: 1987).

8 Cicero, *Pro Murena*, trans. Gardner (Cambridge: 1989).

9 Evans R., "Learning to Be Decadent: Roman Identity and the Luxuries of Others", *Australasian Society for Classical Studies* 32 (2011), available from https://www.ascs.org.au/news/ascs32/Evans.pdf (accessed: 01.08.2019).

10 Wallace-Hadrill A., "The Emperor and His Virtues", *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 30, 3 (1981) 298–323. Cf. Zanker P., *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. A. Shapiro (Michigan: 1988).

when describing Nero's cruel lust for power, writes that the emperor offered his garden to host the spectacle of burning bodies of Christians bound to crosses, who were used as nocturnal illumination. This ghastly spectacle inspired feelings of pity, but the fact that it was completely useless made it even more reprehensible: 'It was not in the public interest, but for one man's savagery, that they were being eliminated' (15.44).[11] Such a performance was all but magnificent.

This political evaluation led to a more general question of how true magnificence should be defined. Seneca (c. 4 BC–AD 65) contrasts the material expression of magnificence with the beauty of a good man's soul, 'pure and gleaming with grandeur and calmness, with justice balanced by courage, all glowing with temperance and prudence!'[12] Conversely, Seneca uses the concept of magnificence to describe the wonders of nature. Its contemplation was supposed to arouse admiration for the divine order, thus stimulating moral behaviour through the wish to live in harmony with nature. Magnificence was therefore related to spiritual qualities and cosmic harmony as opposed to its more mundane interpretation.[13]

Moreover, the concept is used in the handbooks of rhetoric and in literary and art criticism to appraise a speech, a text, or a work of art. Magnificence thus becomes a means of evaluating a concrete object and its creator. The main question is to what extent all splendour performed can be legitimized for particular circumstances. In other words: Does the splendour displayed in particular performances, words, or images befit the occasion, and is it therefore truly magnificent? Hence, magnificence evolved into a transmedial concept that presents nobleness, distinction, eminence, high-mindedness, and magnanimity as ideals, but also involves the danger of bad taste, boasting, bragging, etc.

For example, in his *Institutio oratoria* Quintilian (AD c. 35–c. 100) uses magnificence to praise the use of high-sounding and dignified diction in speeches given at exceptional events, but the rhetorician refers to the concept primarily to criticise the same kind of diction as bombastic and pompous if used thoughtlessly without any consideration for the occasion:

> Magnificence of diction or *μεγαλοπρέπεια* as they call it [...] is not, however, suitable to all cases. For what place has language that rises above the ordinary level in the majority of private suits dealing with loans, letting and hiring and interdicts? Nor yet is it always expedient [...]. We

11 Tacitus, *Annals*, trans. A.J. Woodman (Indianapolis – Cambridge: 2004).

12 Seneca, *Selected Letters*, trans. E. Fantham (Oxford: 2010) letter 115 (21.6).

13 Idem, *Natural Questions*, trans. H.M. Hine (Chicago – London: 2010).

> must remember, too, that there are many cases in which confession, excuse or modification are necessary with regard to our statements: and magnificence is a quality wholly out of keeping with such procedure. Magnificence of diction is therefore no more specially appropriate to the statement of facts than language calculated to excite pity or hatred, or characterised by dignity, charm or wit. Each of these qualities is admirable in its proper place, but none can be regarded as the peculiar and inalienable property of this portion of the speech (4.2.61–62).[14]

This evaluation puts the emphasis on the fact that magnificence ensues when an orator makes the right choices. His speech has to fit the occasion at which it is delivered. So, there is nothing natural about magnificence here. Cicero had already issued the influential statement, in *De inventione*, that the planning comes first, and then the performance of grand and excellent acts or *magnum facere* (2.163).

This statement was not restricted to rhetoric alone, but was also used in the context of art. Thinking about magnificence in terms of invention and creation made it possible to turn around Aristotle's comparison of magnificent men with artists. Whereas Aristotle pointed out that great expenditure needs as much delicacy as the making of a work of art, Pliny the Elder (AD 23/24–79) reversed the analogy, likening *magnum facere* to the noble intent of producing an effect of magnificence; he explains, by implied analogy, that artists need exceptional talent in order mentally to create a work of art, as well as great artistic skill to execute a true work of art, such as Phidias' statue of Zeus in Olympia (36.5.4). This idea would influence early modern art theory enormously.[15]

2 The Middle Ages

As Stephan Jaeger has pointed out, the vocabulary of magnificence occurred too scarcely to measure the depth of its significance for the Middle Ages.[16] However, the performance of magnificence became closely related to the overwhelming feeling of being elevated above everyday reality, a feeling that we now relate to the sublime. Although the concepts of magnificence and the

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14 Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, trans. H.E. Butler (Cambridge: 1920).

15 An early, but still very relevant discussion can be found in Bundy M.W., "'Invention' and 'Imagination' in the Renaissance", *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 29, 4 (1930) 535–545.

16 Jaeger S. (ed.), *Magnificence and the Sublime in Medieval Aesthetics. Art, Architecture, Literature, Music* (New York: 2010).

sublime were not explicitly discussed – Jaeger writes that 'they were often practiced, though seldom theoretically reflected on'[17] – the spending of large sums of money on the common good by church-building bishops and castle-building kings met with feelings of exaltation and wonder. The overpowering impact of the *magnum facere* of grand architectural or celebratory projects, among others, was thus a point of concern.

Besides, in the Middle Ages the debate on inordinate expenditure continued intensely on a theological level. The ancient tradition was introduced into Christian thought by the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274).[18] The Dominican friar Aquinas closely relates magnificence to the divine. Not only the community, as in Aristotle's ethics, but even God can be the central focus in performing magnificence. Aquinas writes: 'In fact no aim of human works is greater than honouring God, and for this reason magnificence principally makes great works in order to honour God' (134.3).[19] The building of the *Sainte Chapelle* in 1245 by Louis IX of France, patron of the Dominicans, served as one of the finest examples of *magnum facere*.

Aquinas's followers and certainly archbishop Giles of Rome (c. 1243–1316) appropriated the concept of magnificence for medieval politics.[20] Giles confirmed the monarchic tradition by arguing that kings and princes were naturally inclined towards magnificence. Kings and princes fully complied with the criteria of Aristotle thanks to their noble birth. In his guide book *De regimine principum*, Giles states that kings and princes should not be prodigal in their expenditure; rather, it was fitting for them to be seen as liberal. Giles expected the magnificent ruler to have richly decorated houses and to finance splendid festivities, such as weddings. A magnificent outward appearance had to reflect the excellence of the princely household. The archbishop thus paved the way for the rise of splendour at the Renaissance papal and princely courts.

3 Renaissance

Although Giles's use of magnificence was intended to enforce tradition in power relations, in early Renaissance Italy the belief in the natural inclination of kings and princes towards magnificence was exploited to the full precisely

17 Jaeger S., "Introduction", in Jaeger (ed.), *Magnificence and the Sublime* 1.

18 Pope S.J., *The Ethics of Aquinas* (Georgetown: 2002) 312–314. Cf. Boyle L.O.P., *Facing History: A Different Thomas Aquinas* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1982) esp. 65–91.

19 Aquinas T., *Summa Theologicae*, trans. T. McDermott (London: 1989).

20 McAlleer G., "Giles of Rome on Political Authority", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 60, 1 (1999) 21–36.

to change power relations and to establish new dynasties of rulers.[21] Cosimo de' Medici (1389–1464) was one of the most important *quattrocento* rulers to spend large sums of money on a series of building projects that asserted his own position as a banker, as well as exercised a claim on royal allure.[22] These performances of splendour were soon emulated – for example, by the Gonzagas in Mantua and the Sforzas in Milan, and by Cosimo's grandson Lorenzo 'the Magnificent'[23] – and it thus became more and more common for rulers to enforce their political position by patronizing the arts and architecture. Justification for this kind of patronage, expressed in Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* (1452) among other works, was found in the virtue of magnificence.[24]

Once the great families had secured their power through displays of magnificence, they strove to sustain a dynastic tradition by restricting the performance of magnificence to their own circles. The dynamic power of *magnum facere* in the *quattrocento* became established again a century later, as throughout the *cinquecento* public performances of splendour became increasingly limited to the high aristocracy. The new rich were criticized for spending their money in the same way as the old elite had, but without true magnificence. After a long hiatus, the ancient Roman vice of luxury reared its head once again to enforce the high aristocracy's monopoly on magnificence.[25]

Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529) was one of the first to associate *lusso* with non-elite citizens who showed off their wealth excessively.[26] This misconduct was not defined by what was performed, but by who performed it, and

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21 Ambrose C.A., *Virtue and Magnificence: Art of the Italian Renaissance Courts* (New York: 1995). Cf. Clarke G., "Magnificence and the City: Giovanni Il Bentivoglio and Architecture in Fifteenth-Century Bologna", *Renaissance Studies* 13 (1999) 397–411, Greaves M., *The Blazon of Honour: A Study in Renaissance Magnanimity* (New York: 1964), Imesch K., *Magnificenza als architektonische Kategorie: Indiviuelle Selbstdarstellung versus ästhetische Verwirklichung von Gemeinschaft in den venzianischen Villen Palladios und Scamozzis* (Oberhausen: 2003), Lindow J.R., *The Renaissance Palace in Florence: Magnificence and Splendour in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (London: 2007) and Welch E., "Public Magnificence and Private Display: Giovanni Pontano's *De splendore* (1498) and the Domestic Arts", *Journal of Design History* 15, 4 (2002) 211–221.

22 Fraser Jenkins A.D., "Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970) 162–170 and Rubin P., "Magnificence and the Medici", Ames-Lewis F. (ed.), *The Early Medici and their Artists* (London: 1995) 37–69. Cf. Howard P., "Preaching Magnificence in Renaissance Florence", *Renaissance Quarterly* 61, 2 (2008) 325–369.

23 Kent F.W., *Lorenzo de' Medici & the Art of Magnificence* (Baltimore – London: 2004).

24 Grafton A., *Leon Battista Alberti: Master Builder of the Italian Renaissance* (Harvard: 2002).

25 Kovesi C., "What Is Luxury? The Rebirth of a Concept in the Early Modern World", *Luxury* 2, 1 (2015) 25–40.

26 Guerzoni, "Liberalitas, Magnificentia, Splendor" 365.

needed to be regulated by the prince. In turn, the prince, in his effort to appear human and be close to his subjects, should not overly distance himself from his princely condition since otherwise he risked being despised, and nor could he present himself in such a divine and solemn way that he lost contact with his subjects. Hence, two oppositions are presented in this discussion: on the one hand, material wealth versus immaterial values, and on the other hand, a solemn and distant princely representation versus a portrayal of the prince as hearty in manner, which found an Aristotelian middle ground in the figure of the *pater familias*.

4 The Age of Magnificence

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the concept of magnificence had evolved from the personal quality of *μεγαλοπρέπεια* pertaining to a rather abstract group of the extremely rich into a far more socially restricted concept, though that restriction was under constant pressure. In splendid rituals and festivities, and in a rich diversity of fashioning and self-fashioning, *magnum facere* would become a most welcome concept for absolutist aspirations, the most significant examples being Louis XIV's grand performances in Paris and Versailles. However, Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1670) reaches an artistic climax with its scathing satire of the appropriation of aristocratic magnificence by the *nouveaux riches*. We need to gain further insights into how the rise of bourgeois magnificence related to absolutist magnificence.[27]

Another related question springs to mind: To what extent did republics use the concept to perform splendour and thus to express their power? According to the well-known, and disputed, theory of Quentin Skinner, the classical republican virtues had an anti-aristocratic character, and virtue was not rooted in lineage or richness but acquired through political participation and sacrifice for the common good.[28] From this perspective, expressions of magnificence become easily identified with corruption. However, great expenditure on building projects and festivities in republics was fiercely defended

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27 Canova-Green M.-C., "Présentation et representation dans Le Bourgeois gentilhomme, ou le jeudes images et des rôles", *Littératures classiques* 21 (1994) 79–90.

28 See esp. Skinner Q., *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge: 1978), Skinner Q., *Visions of Politics, Volume II: Renaissance Virtues* (Cambridge: 2002) and Skinner Q. – Gelderen M. van (eds.), *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage* (Cambridge: 2002). For discussions of Skinner's work, see Palonen K., *Quentin Skinner: History, Politics, Rhetoric* (Cambridge, MA: 2003) and Brett A. – Tully J. (eds.), *Rethinking the Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge: 2006).

by prominent authors, who relied on the argument of magnificence. So, how could the abstract constellation of the *res publica* be presented as magnificent in comparison with specific dynastic rulers with absolutist aspirations?

A similar debate can be seen in courtly culture: the prince should never forget his role as *pater familias* – being accessible to his subjects and willing to converse with them – but at the same time he should present himself according to princely decorum.[29] It is easy to imagine that especially in magnificent seventeenth-century courtly ceremonies, the accessibility of the prince came under pressure, and that this sometimes led to accusations of tyranny and corruption. How was the balance between magnificence and conversation achieved at magnificent seventeenth-century courts?

Another question is whether magnificence continued to be regarded as a virtue, or whether it took on a more instrumental character. The Spanish Jesuit author Juan de Mariana (1536–1624), a fierce critic of courtly splendour, which he regarded as an expression of corruption, nevertheless stated in *De rege et regis institutione* (1599) that pomp and brilliance were necessary in order to impress one's subjects and evoke the image of a quasi-divine king.[30]

A further factor is the impact of magnificence in art and architecture in both Catholic and Protestant regions. Thus far, magnificence in seventeenth-century art and architecture has been predominantly linked to the Baroque and the Counterreformation. As a clear definition of what magnificence might mean in this particular context is never provided, crucial insights still need to be developed. A recent exhibition catalogue entitled *Baroque 1620–1800: Style in the Age of Magnificence* did not even include an entry on 'magnificence' in its index.[31] The medieval tradition of viewing magnificence as a state of mind that far from being restricted to the rich and/or old elite, can also be appropriated by the poor, likewise continued in the seventeenth century and underlay the appropriation of the concept of magnificence in the Protestant regions.

Moreover, an interiorization of magnificence is also found in seventeenth-century art theory, as there the focus shifted from magnificence in patronage

29 Frigo D., *Il padre di famiglia: governo della casa e governo civile nella tradizione dell' "economica" tra cinque e seicento* (Rome: 1985) and Mozzarelli C. (ed.), *"Familia" del principe e famiglia aristocratica* (Rome: 1988). The classical study of Norbert Elias is still a great starting point: *Die höfische Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: 1969). Cf. Duindam J., *Myths of Power: Norbert Elias and the Early Modern European Court* (Amsterdam: 1995) and Opitz C. (ed.), *Höfische Gesellschaft und Zivilisationsprozess: Norbert Elias' Werk in kulturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive* (Köln: 2005).

30 Mariana Juan de, *Del rey y de la institución real. Libro Segundo* (Valencia: 2013), 15. Cf. Braun H.E., *Juan de Mariana and Early Modern Spanish Political Thought* (Hampshire: 2007).

31 Snodin M. – Llewellyn N. (eds.), *Baroque: Style in the Age of Magnificence* (London: 2009).

to the personal magnificence of the artist. The Dutch art theoretician and Calvinist theologian Franciscus Junius (1591–1677) took a ground-breaking step when he utilized the concept of magnificence to define the ideal artist.[32] Although he clarifies that a magnificent work of art eventually overwhelms and elevates the viewer to sublime heights, he puts the emphasis on the importance of the artist's mental capacity to find a splendid subject for his work of art. Therefore, magnificence is related to the first phase of creation, the so-called *inventio*. In line with Aristotle and Pliny, Junius compares the magnificent spender and the magnificent artist, as both need delicacy and taste. He regards this as a natural gift, thus anticipating theories on the artist as a genius, which would be developed by Roger de Piles (1635–1709), among others. In his *Dissertation sur les ouvrages des plus fameux peintres* (1681), Piles praises Rubens for his innate delicacy and taste in finding the most extraordinary subjects for his splendid paintings.[33]

Questions thus arise regarding the interiorization of magnificence in art and in political and religious theories, such as how the artist's magnificence relates to Protestant magnificence; how both relate to the very explicit and publicly performed magnificence of the Baroque in courtly and Catholic contexts, and even within one and the same artist, such as Rubens; and how the concept of magnificence is increasingly commandeered from the end of the seventeenth century onwards to evaluate the effect of specific painters and specific works of art.

With the Enlightenment, the concept of magnificence loses its relevance.[34] Nonetheless, we could ask ourselves whether traces of this age-old way of performing power still remained active in nineteenth-century imperial culture (consider the two Napoleons) or even in our current democracies. Can Mitterand's *grand travaux* be interpreted as modern expressions of magnificence? And even at this very moment, we might question whether Trump's or Putin's display of riches mark a return of the concept. Are we entering a new era of magnificence, undoubtedly with its own distinctive characteristics? Can this new performance of magnificence be viewed as a symptom of the

32 Weststeijn T., *Art and Antiquity in the Netherlands and Britain. The Vernacular Arcadia of Franciscus Junius (1591–1677)* (Leiden: 2015); Fehl P. – Fehl R., 'Preface', in Junius F., *The Painting of the Ancients* (Berkeley: 1991).

33 Nativel C., "Rubens, Franciscus Junius, Roger de Piles", in Mouchel C. – Nativel C. (eds.), *République des lettres, république des Art. Mélanges en l'honneur de Marc Fumaroli* (Genève: 2008) 561–79.

34 Saisselin R., *The Enlightenment against the Baroque: Economics and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley: 1992).

political crisis of our current democracies? And, most importantly, can we understand the relevance of magnificence to the present day by revisiting its long history?

5 New Views

The first section in this volume shows how the expression of magnificence in the seventeenth century was based on broad and diverse traditions of thinking, ranging from late scholastic reception to art theory. The opening essay focuses on the interpretation of Aristotle's *μεγαλοπρέπεια* in scholarly literature. Matthias Roick points out that the early moderns did not read the Greek philosopher in the same way as we do. To understand their take on Aristotelian moral philosophy, it is necessary to examine editions, translations, paraphrases, treatises, and commentaries. Roick analyses Johannes Caselius's treatise *Magnificentia et Magnanimitas* (1587), which introduced the Aristotelian discussion of magnificence to Protestant universities. Reformed and Lutheran professors of moral philosophy such as Bartolomäus Keckermann, Walter Donaldson, and Johann Deutschmann followed his example and highlighted common and controversial points of discussion, such as the public and private aspects of magnificence, or the definition of magnificence as a 'heroic' virtue.

Jorge Fernández Santos explores how the Christianised interpretation of Aristotle's notion of magnificence by Thomas Aquinas and his followers influenced Philip II's display of magnificence in the building of the royal monastery of El Escorial. He proposes to 'bridge the divide' between medievalist and early modernist specializations, and suggests that the focus on magnificence as a hermeneutic tool could be useful in exploring continuities between medieval and early modern patronage. This perspective reveals that the comparison between Philip II and King Solomon as temple builders was already endemic in Castilian medieval tropes.

Aristotle's definition of magnificence also pervaded art theory. Michèle-Caroline Heck reflects on the qualities a work of art needed to be magnificent. The greatness of a work of art not only depended on lavish expenditure, but also on the effect it produced on the spectator. This effect depended on the way a magnificent patron used a work of art to affirm his power, on the role of the magnificent artist, and on the impact a work of art made on the observer.

The second section deals with how magnificence was expressed in courtly and aristocratic environments, starting with the examination by Miguel Hermoso of the Hall of Realms in Philip IV of Spain's Buen Retiro Palace. To grasp the idea behind this example of royal magnificence, Hermoso analyses it

as a total work of art that encompassed painting, sculpture, textiles and literature, and places it in the context of similar halls in other Spanish royal palaces, such as the Gallery of Battles in the Escorial.

Anne-Madeleine Goulet sheds light on the economic aspects of displays of magnificence in great Roman aristocratic families. By concentrating on the performances organized by Flavio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, the main representative of the Francophile noble circle in Rome, and his wife Marie-Anne de La Trémoille, the Princesse des Ursins, Goulet provides an overview of the economic difficulties facing the couple in the Duke's native city. She contextualises these difficulties within the framework of transnational relations, ultimately demonstrating that the Franco-Roman magnificence advocated by the Duke and Duchess of Bracciano was an effective strategy.

Apart from the construction of palaces, for the Spanish kings the maintenance of a large royal household was essential for upholding their status. Félix Labrador Arroyo and José Eloy Hortal Muñoz estimate that approximately 15% of the total budget of the court was allocated to the royal household in the seventeenth century. It included the royal family and the nobles who served them and fulfilled an essential role in the political organization of the monarchy. Spanish early modern political authors related a good-sized household, the etiquettes and ceremonial that regulated the conduct of courtiers, and the beauty of the palaces to the harmony of political rule. This made it difficult to reduce the household's size or curtail its expenses in times of economic hardship, such as befell the reign of Philip IV.

Another initiative launched by Philip IV to express his magnificence was the foundation of the Jesuit Reales Estudios at the Colegio Imperial de Madrid for the education of the Spanish nobility. However, as Gijs Versteegen argues, this action was not recognized as magnificent by the Castilian universities which, fearing loss of social and political influence, construed it rather as an act of tyranny. The Jesuit author Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, who became one of the teachers of the Reales Estudios, reflected on the virtue of magnificence from an educational perspective in a manual written for its students. Nieremberg explained in this book how exercising detachment from wealth could prepare young nobles to spend large sums of money appropriately and to behave with dignity at magnificent events.

In the first essay in the section on magnificent architecture, Stijn Bussels and Bram Van Oostveldt discuss how the Dutch appropriated the concept of magnificence to deal with their doubts regarding how far they could go in expressing their wealth. More particularly, they focus on how poets and artists defended the new, expensive Town Hall of Amsterdam. Many texts and images emphasised that the building was a case of pure *magnum facere* of the

burgomasters, in the literal sense of the splendorous performance of expensive, broad-minded and well-considered acts. Whereas poets and artists fully acknowledged the expense of building the Town Hall, they legitimised these vast expenditures by declaring that building was a necessary vehicle for the public expression of Amsterdam's prominent position in the world, and for further securing that position.

Lindsay Alberts presents an example of how references to a sober early-Christian style were applied to the appreciation of impressive, costly, magnificent architecture. The Second Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinando I, was a ruler uniquely positioned to combine the political and spiritual meaning of magnificence, as he had served as cardinal for twenty-five years before inheriting the granducal throne. His rule brought a new sacrality to Medici displays of authority, nowhere more apparent than in the Cappella dei Principi at San Lorenzo in Florence, where the opulence of the floor-to-ceiling hardstone decoration evokes the Heavenly Jerusalem on earth. Building on the sixteenth-century revival of polychrome marble decoration based on early Christian decorative schemes, the Cappella dei Principi reflects the spiritual meaning of magnificence in the early seventeenth century.

Moving to northern Protestant Europe, Anne-Françoise Morel discusses the theory of magnificence within the context of the restoration of the Old St. Paul's in London. In previous studies of this restoration campaign conducted by Inigo Jones for Archbishop Laud and King Charles I, no link has been made with the concept of magnificence. In this essay Morel shows how Gyles Fleming's sermon "Magnificence Exemplified" consciously used Aristotle's *μεγαλοπρέπεια* as a propagandistic tool in support of the royal fundraising commission while at the same time preserving the royal privilege of the architectural program. Exploring the concept of magnificence, this contribution re-establishes the connection between the west portico, which has been all too often studied singly, and the overall restoration project of the building.

Magnificence was not only performed in the construction of imposing buildings, but also in the creation of surrounding gardens and parks, as Elizabeth den Hartog shows in her essay on the garden of Gaspar Fagel, one of the closest advisors of stadholder William III, later to become William I of England, and grand pensionary of Holland. When Fagel rebuilt the house and farms of the Leeuwenhorst estate, he laid out a garden that was celebrated in its time, not only in Holland but even beyond. The fame of this garden was largely due to Fagel's collection of exotic plants, which included many newly introduced species from the colonies, nowhere else to be seen in western Europe at the time. The creation of this magnificent garden was not so much motivated by

an effort to enhance the honour of the grand pensionary, but had the broader propagandistic function of reflecting the Republic's dignity and prestige.

The last section of this volume is dedicated to the performance of magnificence through festivities, ceremonies and theatre. Alessandro Metlica examines the role played by the virtue of magnificence in the Republic of Venice, namely, through the staging of public pageants and the publication of festival books describing them. Since in Venice magnificence could not be associated with royal or imperial status, as was customary elsewhere in Europe, the concept was reshaped in accordance with the complex rituals of the Republic. The essay takes this dynamic process into consideration by focusing, in particular, on the ceremonial entry of the procurators of St. Mark's and on the printed sources related to it.

Alessandra Mignatti, returning to the Habsburg dynastic context, considers the close connection between regality and magnificence by analysing the Milanese festivities organised for the birth of Balthasar Charles, son of Philip IV, and then, after his premature death, for his exequies. She identifies how magnificence was defined, what effects it aimed to bring about, and what conceptual interpretations were used as its basis. At the same time, the city of Milan used these dynastic performances to express its own magnificence in the organization of grandiose celebratory settings.

Kathrin Stocker observes how extravagant courtly festivities were received in Protestant Württemberg at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The concept of magnificence was related to the French and Italian festive court style and criticised by local elites (such as preachers) as inappropriate to the idea of Protestant *modestia*. Stocker shows how Duke Johann Friedrich reacted to his critics and how authors at his court reframed local festive culture. This perspective is compared with the comments of the art merchant Philipp Hainhofer, who attended the baptismal celebrations staged for the Duke's son at Stuttgart in 1616.

This book ends with two analyses of literary reflections on magnificence in courtly theatre, beginning with Klaas Tindeman's examination of John Wilmot's *Lucina's Rape*. In this play John Wilmot, 2nd Earl of Rochester, the (in)famous 'court wit' of King Charles II during the Restoration era, adapted John Fletcher's Jacobean revenge tragedy *The Tragedy of Valentinian*. Fletcher's story – the cruel Roman emperor Valentinian rapes Lucina, the wife of his courtier Maximus, but she is ultimately avenged – is retained by Wilmot, but the focus changes significantly. His central concern is not the fate of the debauched Valentinian, but the rape itself, as an extremely transgressive act. The act of rape, which takes place offstage, is 'hidden' by the noise of a court

masque, both visually and musically. Thus the iconic magnificence of the masque, as a genre associated with the glorification of kingship, is used to highlight royal hypocrisy in its most violent form.

Victoire Malenfer shows how magnificence was staged as an aesthetic category in *The Magnificent Lovers*, created by Molière and Lully, where theatre, music and dance shared the stage. A vast array of artistic media was commonly seen in French court plays, but the difference introduced by *The Magnificent Lovers* lies in the explicit reflexion upon magnificence: this gallant comedy, structured as a *mise en abyme*, represents on stage an audience delighted by the various entertainments provided by two magnificent princes. This meta-reflexive device and the peculiar circumstances of the performance made this play a real turning point in the political use of magnificence by Louis XIV, and in the evolution of the court play as a theatrical genre.

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PART 1

Traditions of Thought on Magnificence

CHAPTER 1

Early Modern Readings of Aristotle's Theory of Magnificence in the *Ethics*

Matthias Roick

Magnificence, grandeur and lavishness are hallmarks of rulers throughout the centuries, and the early modern period holds a special place in the history of magnificence, with rulers going on a building spree on a global level.[1] In Europe, both the Renaissance and the Baroque were 'ages of spectacle', to borrow Tom Dyckhoff's felicitous phrase.[2] Although coined for twentieth and twenty-first century iconic architecture, it is easy to imagine the many building projects, and even early modern culture at large, in similar terms. Many instances of early modern magnificence, as discussed in the present volume, are 'spectacular' in one sense or another: they are exciting to look at, or display greatness, and their enduring fascination is mirrored in the droves of tourists still visiting sites such as Versailles and cities such as Florence. The prestigious building projects of early modern elites continue to attract our interest and to involve our historical imagination.

But how did early moderns imagine the 'spectacular' aspects of their culture? Which terminology did they use to describe and explain their culture of spectacle? These questions have no simple response. Philosophers, historians, rhetoricians, and architects have all reflected on magnificence and greatness, in the Greek city states as well as in the Roman Empire, during the medieval period as well as in the Renaissance. The early modern period resembles a kind of nexus, where many of these traditions meet and intertwine, and different aspects of the topic come into view.

In what follows, I will concentrate on one such tradition – Aristotle's discussion of magnificence in the *Nicomachean Ethics.* There are two main reasons for this choice. First, the Aristotelian tradition has a remarkable history, revealing the distinct ethical dimension of the premodern concept of magnificence. For Aristotle, magnificence is, in the first place, a moral virtue. This should not surprise us. After all, he builds his ethical thought on the notion

1 Osterhammel J., "Einleitung", in Osterhammel J. – Iriye A. (eds.), *Weltreiche und Weltmeere 1350–1750*, Geschichte der Welt 3 (Munich: 2013) 30.

2 Dyckhoff T., *The Age of Spectacle. The Rise and Fall of Iconic Architecture* (London: 2018).

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of *kalokagathia* (καλοκαγαθία), bringing together the beautiful (καλός) and the good (ἀγαθός), that is, aesthetic and ethical aspects. From a modern point of view, then, the Aristotelian virtue of magnificence lies at the intersection between morally good behavior and good taste, and leads us to questions about how these aspects of human comportment relate to each other, and to what extent they even coincide in the early modern view.

Second, while the Aristotelian treatment of magnificence in the *Ethics* makes important reading for anyone interested in its various seventeenth-century applications, this is equally true, if not more so, for the corpus of scholarly literature that developed around it.[3] In early modernity, the *Ethics* was not so much thought of as a self-explicatory representation of Aristotle's thoughts on moral philosophy, as it was seen as the gravitational center around which other texts such as editions, translations, paraphrases, treatises, and commentaries revolved. It is important to recognize, then, that early moderns did not read Aristotle in the same way as we do, and that it is not enough to consult modern editions of the *Ethics* to understand their take on Aristotelian moral philosophy.

1 The Aristotelian Tradition: Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples

The *Ethics* was reintroduced to European thought during the thirteenth century. Dominican scholars such as Robert Grosseteste and Wilhelm of Moerbeke translated the text, revising older, fragmentary versions and developing a sophisticated methodology based on the principle of 'ad verbum', that is word by word translation.[4] These translation activities dovetailed with a renewed interest in the commentary tradition. Grosseteste, for one, used the commentaries of Aspasius, Eustratius, and Michael of Ephesus in his understanding of the Greek text. Furthermore, his Latin version of the *Ethics* created an excellent

3 For the reception of Aristotle's *Ethics*, see Miller J., *The Reception of Aristotle's Ethics* (Cambridge: 2012). See especially chapters 9 and 10, Lines D.A., "Aristotle's Ethics in the Renaissance", in Miller J. (ed.), *The Reception of Aristotle's Ethics* (Cambridge: 2012) 171–193, Rutherford D., "The end of ends? Aristotelian themes in early modern ethics", in Miller J. (ed.), *The Reception of Aristotle's Ethics* (Cambridge: 2012) 194–221. For the discussion of Aristotelian ideas of greatness and their traditions in late antiquity and during the Middle Ages, see the seminal work by Gauthier R.A., *Magnanimité. L'idéal de la grandeur dans la philosophie païenne et dans la théologie chrétienne*, Bibliothèque thomiste 33 (Paris: 1951).

4 Leemans P. de – Cordonier V. – Steel C., "Die Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen: 'corpus Aristotelicum'", in Brungs A. – Mudroch V. – Schulthess P. (eds.), *Die Philosophie des Mittelalters. Band 4: 13. Jahrhundert*, Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie (Basel: 2017) 110–129.

textual basis for new commentaries and treatises, most importantly Thomas Aquinas's *Sententia libri Ethicorum* and his discussion on magnificence in Part II of the *Summa Theologiae*.

The scholastic revival of Aristotle's moral philosophy would not remain uncontested, however. In the fifteenth century, Renaissance humanists such as Leonardo Bruni heavily criticized the 'old' translation and produced their own 'humanist' versions, based on the 'ad sensum' criterion whereby the translator adheres to the meaning of the original text.[5] Still, humanist translations did not supplant the 'old' versions. Instead, they added to the variety of texts available and diversified the intellectual landscape of Aristotelian moral philosophy. Moreover, new commentaries appeared. An important example is Donato Acciaiuoli's *Expositio super libros Ethicorum* (first published in 1478), which includes the lectures the Byzantine émigré scholar and translator John Argyropoulos had given on the *Ethics* at the Florentine Studium between 1456 and 1470.[6]

One of the earliest and most popular printed editions of Aristotle's *Ethics*, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples' *Decem librorum Moralium Aristotelis tres conversiones*, illustrates the richness of the Aristotelian tradition at the end of the fifteenth century. Lefèvre's edition is both early and trendsetting. On the one hand, it presents its readers with the translations of Argyropoulos, Bruni, and the 'old' translator Robert Grosseteste.[7] On the other, it contains Lefèvre's commentary on the *Ethics* and his introduction to it, the *Introductio in Aristotelis Ethica ad Nicomachum*. In addition, Lefèvre also included Giorgo Valla's translation of the *Magna Moralia* and Bruni's own introduction to moral philosophy, the *Isagogicon*, in the volume.[8]

Lefèvre's commentary gives us an important impression of how the *Ethics* was read and treated at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The chapter on magnificence contains both 'notae', notes on the text, and a 'commentarius ad litteram', a literal commentary. While the literal commentary structures the

5 Hankins J., "The Ethics Controversy", in *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols (Rome: 2003) 193–239. Botley P., *Latin Translation in the Renaissance. The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Gianozzo Manetti and Desiderius Erasmus* (Cambridge: 2004).

6 Bianchi L., "Un commento 'umanistico' ad Aristotele. L''Expositio super libros Ethicorum' di Donato Acciaiuoli", *Rinascimento* 30 (1990) 29–55; reprint in idem, *Studi sull'aristotelismo del Rinascimento* (Padua: 2003) 11–39.

7 Aristoteles, *Decem librorum Moralium Aristotelis tres conversiones* (Paris, Johannes Higman and Wolfgang Hopyl: 1497).

8 For a description of the volume, see Chandler H.W., *A Catalogue of Editions of Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics and of Works Illustrative of Them Printed in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: 1868) 33–35, and the entry in *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, available under https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/GW02359.htm (27.12.2019).

text and breaks it down into single parts, the notes contain explanations of single words, such as 'triremis', trireme, and 'prefectus', commander. (We will return to the context and discussion of these terms below.) Lefèvre's notes also include citations from poetry to illustrate important passages in the text. Ovid's description of the sun palace, for example, culminating in the proverbial 'materiam superabat opus' – 'the matter vied not with the sculptor's thought', highlights a passage in the *Ethics* in which Aristotle argues that 'sumptus ipse opera dignus esse debeat, vel etiam opus sumptum superare' – 'the expenditure should be worthy of the result, and the result should even be in excess of the expenditure'.[9] Virgilius's description of Dido's feast for Aeneas, instead, serves as example for the public nature of magnificence, including 'magnifica convivia' – 'magnificent banquets'.[10]

The notes also add to the Aristotelian text and introduce Christian examples. 'Sed si verum magnificum desideratis sacrae litterae vobis dabunt, Salomonem scilicet magnificum dei templum extruentem' – 'but if you look for the example of a really magnificent man, you will find it in the Holy Scriptures: Salomon who builds the magnificent temple'.[11] Lefèvre illustrates another important point in the *Ethics*, 'the magnificent person is like an expert', with the story of Alexander and Dinocrates, retold by Vitruvius.[12] When the architect Dinocrates proposes to cut mount Athos into the form of a statue of a man, holding a spacious city in his left hand, Alexander rejects the idea, as it would cut off the city from its supplies.

Levèfre's last example refers not to the virtue of magnificence, but to the vice of 'sordiditas', or ostentatious expenditure. Citing a passage from Pliny, he recounts the story of Cleopatra and Antony's wager.[13] Asked by Antony why she treated his sumptuous banquets and their extraordinary magnificence with contempt, Cleopatra answers that she would spend ten million sesterces on one single entertainment. To prove her point, she takes a large pearl from her ear, dissolves it in vinegar and swallows it.

Levèfre's commentary combines different aspects. On the one hand, it follows the previous commentary tradition in structuring and organizing the text. On the other, it transcends the text by citing poetry and giving historical examples, embedding the Aristotelian discussion in a wider cultural framework and enriching the theoretical treatment with exhortative elements, much

9 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.1–5; Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 4.2 1122b4–6.
10 Virgilius, *Aeneid* 1.703–711.
11 The reference is to 1 *Kings* 5.
12 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 4.2 1122a34; Vitruvius, *De architectura* 2.praef.1–4.
13 Plinius, *Natural History* 9.59.119–121.

along the lines of humanist treatises such as Giovanni Pontano's *De magnificentia*, written in the 1490s.[14] The example of Lefèvre's edition shows that early modern readers did rarely encounter a 'stand-alone' Aristotle. Rather, seminal works such as the *Ethics* generated 'textual universes' that would help readers to better understand the scope and intricacies of Aristotle's text.

2 From Italy to the North: Johannes Caselius

Lefèvre's edition of the *Ethics* makes part of a wider movement to continue and reinforce the tradition of Aristotelian moral philosophy. For Lefèvre, however, magnificence played no special role, although his commentary shows a generic interest in the topic and provides some examples of magnificent (or ostentatious) behavior. At the same time, however, a new literature on magnificence developed on the Italian peninsula; discussions of magnificence had received a considerable boost from the mid-fifteenth century onwards. The new 'theory of magnificence', as it is formulated in works such as Timoteo Maffei's *In magnificentiae Cosmi Medicei detractores*, written in the 1450s, served mainly as a justification of the prestigious building projects of the rulers that had come to power between the 1430s and 1450s. The Medici in Florence, the Sforza in Milan, the popes in Rome, and the Aragonese in Naples were all keen to display their newly acquired power on the peninsula.[15] After a period of political unrest and cultural fermentation, the emphasis no longer fell on the restructuring of society, but on the affirmation of the new social order and 'the morphing of [the] urban elite and culture into a progressively more aristocratic and courtly society', as Guido Ruggiero writes.[16] This morphing dovetailed with a transformation of the moral vocabulary concerning magnificence, obvious in works such as the already mentioned *De magnificentia*, Giovanni Pontano's rewriting of the Aristotelian theory of magnificence.[17] This transformation, again, did not originate with the humanist movement alone, but depended on a whole nexus of ideas, as Peter Howard has argued: 'Man, as a magnificent work of

14 Pontano G., "De magnificentia", in *I libri delle virtù sociali*, ed. Francesco Tateo (Roma: 1999) 165–222.

15 Fraser Jenkins A.D., "Cosimo de' Medici's patronage of architecture and the theory of magnificence", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970) 162–170.

16 Ruggiero G., *The Renaissance in Italy: A Social and Cultural History of the Rinascimento* (New York: 2015) 229–30.

17 Quondam A., *Forma del vivere. L'etica del gentiluomo e i moralisti italiani* (Bologna: 2010). For Pontano's rewriting of Aristotelian moral philosophy, see Roick M., *Pontano's Virtues. Aristotelian Moral and Political Thought in the Renaissance* (London: 2017).

art, with a natural inclination to the magnificent, himself creates magnificent works of art in order to 'magnify' God [...] Magnificence was, at one and the same time, a theological, moral, and aesthetic value'.[18]

If 'magnificence was in the air' (Howard) in Renaissance Italy, the air grew noticeably colder during the Reformation. When Martin Luther began to openly attack the Roman Church and their practice of indulgences for those who gave alms to rebuild St. Peter's, he gave a powerful voice to new forms of piety and morality that fostered a climate averse to the new notions of magnificence. In his early treatise, *Von den guten Werken*, written in 1520, Luther explicitly turned against 'das grosz geprenge', the 'display, magnificence and multitude' of works and insisted that 'the higher and better the works are, the less show they make'.[19] His invectives had the potential to subvert the moral culture of his day, but they did not do so.

One reason was the relative stability of the educational system. Even though Luther had heavily criticized the teaching of Aristotle's *Ethics*, with Melanchthon it soon found its way back into the curriculum of Protestant universities in Germany.[20] Distinguishing between law and gospel, Melanchthon re-evaluated the place of ethics in the context of Protestant teachings: while moral philosophy had nothing to say about the revealed truth of the gospel, it could help to interpret God's law as found in the realm of nature.[21] Within this framework, magnificence returned as a topic for debate, especially when considering its place among the 'canonical' virtues in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, which was to play a central part in the teaching of moral philosophy at Protestant universities.

The first treatise dedicated to the virtue of magnificence is Johannes Caselius's *Magnificentia et Magnanimitas*, published in 1587.[22] Caselius, who taught at the university of Rostock, was the ideal candidate to bring together the Italian and German traditions. As a student of Melanchthon in Wittenberg, he followed his teacher's dedication to the *studia humanitatis* and his interest

18 Howard P., *Creating Magnificence in Renaissance Florence*, Essays and Studies 29 (Toronto: 2012) 51.

19 Luther M., *Von den guten Werken*, Werke D. Martin Luthers. Kritische Gesamtausgabe 6 (Weimar: 1885) 219.

20 Scheible H., *Melanchthon: eine Biographie* (Munich: 1997) 91–94.

21 Saarinen R., "Renaissance Ethics and the European Reformations", in Ebbersmeyer S. – Lines D.A. (eds.), *Rethinking virtue, reforming society. New directions in Renaissance ethics, c.1350–c.1650*, Cursor Mundi 3 (Turnhout: 2013) 84–85.

22 Caselius J., *Magnificentia et Magnanimitas. Explicatae ab Joanne Caselio* (Rostock, Myliander: 1587).

in ethics and morality.[23] But Caselius also had excellent contacts with Italian scholars after having visited the peninsula two times in the 1560s. He was well acquainted with the state-of-the-art in cities such as Bologna and Florence, and counted important figures such as Pietro Vettori among his friends.[24]

Caselius's *Magnificentia et Magnanimitas* is dedicated to Frederik II, King of Denmark and Norway and Duke of Schleswig (1534–1588). The choice is not surprising. From a dynastic point of view, Frederik was of immense importance for the dukes of Mecklenburg, Caselius's employers. He was the son-in-law of Ulrich III, Duke of Mecklenburg, and his consort Elisabeth of Denmark. (Elisabeth was also Frederik II's great-aunt.) But not only kinship ties and marriage alliances bound Frederik to the Mecklenburg court. He also had close relations with the new Protestant humanist elite in Northern Germany, to which Caselius belonged. Thus the Pomeranian Heinrich Ramel and the Mecklenburger Heinrich Below formed part of the king's inner circle of counsellors. Ramel, moreover, served as tutor to the young prince-elect Christian, the later Christian IV.[25]

Apart from dynastic reasons, King Frederik was a suitable addressee for Caselius's treatise also because of his magnificent behavior. While Frederik's father Christian III had led a frugal household and had 'invested little time or money in monumental architecture', his son 'spent freely on the reconstruction of several royal residences', and 'his crowning achievement was the building of Kronborg Castle (1574–7)'.[26] (Situated in the town of Helsingør, it was later immortalized as Elsinore in William Shakespeare's play *Hamlet*.) Frederik's son, Christian IV, would continue the tradition by 'renovating older palaces and constructing two magnificent new residences', Rosenborg and Federiksborg.[27] These building activities were consistent with the reorganization of the political landscape of Scandinavia in the wake of the Reformation, with Denmark as one of the leading powers among the lands around the Baltic sea.[28] They also depended on the reformulation of the relationship between Church and state.

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23 For Caselius' biography, see Sdzuj B., "Johannes Caselius", in Kühlmann W. et al. (eds.), *Frühe Neuzeit in Deutschland, 1520–1620. Literaturwissenschaftliches Verfasserlexikon* 1 (Berlin – Boston: 2011) 478–497.

24 In later years, Caselius published Vettori's letter exchange with his German friends and contacts in Vettori P., *Epistolarum ad Germanos missarum libri tres* (Rostock, Lucius: 1577).

25 Caselius, *Magnificentia et Magnanimitas*, fol. [A] [4] r.

26 Lockhart P.D., *Denmark 1513–1660. The Rise and Decline of a Renaissance Monarchy* (Oxford: 2007) 35, 41.

27 Lockhart, *Denmark 1513–1660* 190.

28 Schilling H., *Die neue Zeit. Vom Christenheitseuropa zum Europa der Staaten. 1250 bis 1750*, Siedler Geschichte Europas 3 (Berlin: 1999) 157–173.

The critique of 'the theological foundations of sacerdotal authority meant adding a sleeve of spiritual dignity to the "secular arm"'.[29]

The very first sentence of Caselius's dedication letter reflects both aspects:

> Magnae sunt virtutes, rex Friderice, ut ipsa earum nomina loquuntur, et prorsus regiae, quod omnes intelligent, et, ne quid mentiar, prae caeteris divinae, magnificentia et magnanimitas.[30]
>
> Magnificence and magnanimity are great virtues, king Frederick, as their very name tells us, and they are truly royal, as everybody knows, and, that I may tell no lie, divine before all others.

Caselius emphasises the 'royal' aspect of magnificence (and magnanimity), but also underlines the religious aspect of said virtues. Far from being contrary to piety and religion, then, magnificence is not Luther's 'grosz geprenge', the reflection of mundane concerns and vainglory, but an expression of royal power and the glory of God.

Besides King Frederik, Caselius mentions another magnificent person in his dedicatory letter: his mother-in-law and great-aunt Elisabeth, who played a key role in linking the Danish court with the Mecklenburg dynasty. Her death had occurred unexpectedly during the preparation of the treatise, on 15 October 1586.[31] Rising to the occasion, Caselius praises the consort of Duke Ulrich as both magnificent and magnanimous:

> Lucebant in ea cum caeterae virtutes, tum hae quoque, quarum initio epistolae mentionem feci. Namque pro captu sexus, magno ipsa animo fuit praedita; magnificentiae autem documenta edidit, quae in libro nostro maximam partem recensuimus.[32]
>
> Together with the other virtues, in her shone also those that I mentioned at the beginning of my letter. For according to the capacities of her sex, she was great-minded; moreover, she produced proofs of her magnificence that I have recounted for the most part in my book.

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29 Greengrass M., *Christendom Destroyed. Europe 1517–1648*, The Penguin History of Europe 5 (London: 2014) 464.

30 Caselius, *Magnificentia et Magnanimitas*, fol. A 1 v.

31 Ibidem, fol. A 2 r.

32 Ibidem, fol. A 3 r.

The book Caselius mentions is a work in Elisabeth's praise, *De laudibus Elisabethae Cimbricae*.[33] Here we find several instances of Elisabeth's magnificence. As a matter of fact, the building fabric of Rostock and its surroundings changed considerably in the times of Elisabeth, as the Vicke Schorler picture chronicle of Rostock, produced between 1578 and 1586, shows in an impressive manner.[34] As Caselius writes, Elisabeth was responsible for the construction of roads as well as the cutting down of trees for fireplaces, timbers, and ships. The first point, road construction, is a classical *topos* of magnificence (Caselius gives a number of examples), while the second point, the cutting down of trees in large quantities, does not often arise in discussions of magnificence. In the eyes of Caselius, what qualifies it as magnificent is the 'multorum admiratione', the admiration it commanded in many of Elisabeth's contemporaries.[35] Elisabeth's magnificence did not end with roads and forest clearings, however. Her support for the reconstruction, repair and endowment of churches in the region also showed her profound piety, especially in the case of her activities for the church in Güstrow, the ducal residence near Rostock.[36]

Caselius's praise of Elisabeth is interesting because it gives many contemporary examples of magnificence. His treatise on magnificence and magnanimity, instead, does not produce these examples. Its scope is more scholarly than the dedicatory letter might lead to think. In the letter, Caselius emphasises first of all his learnedness. As he explains to King Frederik, he has studied the virtues of magnificence and magnanimity 'satis diu', for a long time, and 'summaque diligentia', with greatest care.[37] He also acknowledges the Aristotelian imprint of his work, written 'insistens illius Graecorum doctissimi vestigiis, qui unus pro mille ducibus esse potest, currentibus spatium sapientiae' – 'in the footsteps of the most learned man among the Greeks, one guide who can stand for a thousand, for those who strike the path of wisdom'.[38]

Notwithstanding his faithfulness to the Aristotelian model, Caselius puts his own emphases on the program. For one, he gives magnificence quite an exclusive outlook, insisting that it is a virtue for the very few, 'paucissimorum virtus est'.[39] Accordingly, he plays up the difference between liberality

33 Caselius J., *De laudibus Elisabethae Cimbricae Liber* (Rostock, Myliander: 1586).

34 See Simms A., "Urban Corporate Governance and the Shaping of Medieval Towns", in Larkham P.J. – Conzen M.P. (eds.), *Shapers of Urban Form: Explorations in Morphological Agency* (New York – London: 2014) 71–75.

35 Caselius, *De laudibus Elisabethae Cimbricae Liber*, H 3 vH 4 r.

36 Ibidem, H 4 v.

37 Caselius, *Magnificentia et Magnanimitas*, fol. A 1 v.

38 Ibidem, fol. A 2 r.

39 Ibidem, 9.

and magnificence and argues that the aim of magnificent behaviour is not popular approval, 'non captans auram popularem', but only the moral good, 'honestum'.[40] Along the same lines, he maintains that the deeds and works of the magnificent man are not done in an ordinary manner, 'vulgari modo'.[41] Moreover, he underlines that although it is proper for rich men to strive for magnificence, it is not proper for those 'viles homines' – 'base men', who gain their wealth by robbery and plunder, or fraud and cunning. Magnificence, therefore, 'oportet eosdem vel gente nobiles esse, vel virtute et praestantibus factis claros', it 'suits only those noble by birth or distinguished by their virtue and their extraordinary deeds'.[42]

In other parts of his treatise, Caselius follows the Aristotelian description of the magnificent man more closely. Thus he characterizes him as 'sciens', as a man of knowledge.[43] Different from Lefèvre, however, he abstains from giving examples, and prefers to elaborate on the notions of 'scientia' and 'eruditio'. For Caselius, the magnificent man resembles a 'sciens', not so much in the sense of an 'expert' with skills, but in the sense of someone who has perfect understanding, 'doctrinae perfectio', as opposed to the learned man, 'eruditus', who possesses the learning necessary for one's life, 'ad vitam necessariae litterae'. The man of perfect understanding, then, relates to the learned man in the same way as the magnificent man relates to the liberal man, and as the philosopher, 'philosophus', relates to the philologist, 'philologus'.[44] Such statements should not imply that Caselius sees himself mainly as a philosopher. True to his Italian imprint, he works very much on a philological level, too.

In the vein of the commentary tradition, the main text is interrupted by 'scholia', often discussing details of the text. Thus the first 'scholion' elaborates on the interpretation of the Greek words 'τριήραρχος', someone equipping a trireme, and 'ἀρχιθέωρος', the chief of a sacred embassy.[45] Aristotle brings up these terms to illustrate his point that magnificence is expenditure fitting on a large scale, but also that scale is relative, 'since the expense of equipping a trireme is not the same as that of being chief ambassador in a state delegation'.[46]

40 Ibidem, 17.
41 Ibidem, 21.
42 Ibidem, 25.
43 Ibidem, 15.
44 Ibidem, 17.
45 Ibidem, 10.
46 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 4.2 1122a24–27.

Argyropoulos had translated the sentence as follows: 'Non enim idem sumptus triremis, & spectaculorum praefectum decet'.[47] Caselius does not agree with this translation. Instead, he sides with Pietro Vettori's criticism of Argyropoulos in the *Commentarii*, a translation and commentary of the *Ethics* that Vettori had published only recently, in 1584. Vettori translates the sentence in question different from Argyropoulos: 'Non enim idem sumptus faciendus est praefecto triremis, & praefecto theoridis'. In his comment, he argues that 'minime debere magnam eodem pacto appellari impensam, quam facit praefectus triremis et praefectus grandis illius sacrique navigii, quod vocabatur θεωρίς' – 'one must absolutely not address in the same way the great expense of someone equipping a trireme and someone being the commander of one of those great and consecrated vessels that were called θεωρίς'.[48] Vettori proves his point by citing passages from Plato, the Attic orator Lysias, the Greek scholar Julius Pollux, and Plutarch.[49]

Caselius follows the argument, although he adapts Vettori's commentary, omitting the passages in the lesser known authors, Lysias and Julius Pollux, and concentrating on the testimonies in Plato and Plutarch. He first turns to Plato, considerably expanding Vettori's short remarks. As Phaedo explains in the homonymous dialogue, Socrates was put to death long after his trial because the sacred ship to Delos was crowned the very day before the trial, and no public executions could take place until the ship had returned from there.[50] Caselius elaborates on the story for almost a page, clearly addressing a non-academic audience who is not necessarily familiar with the *Phaedo*.[51] The second testimony Caselius puts forward is from the *Demetrius*, in which Plutarch reprimands the Athenian politician Stratocles's excessive praise of Demetrius and 'his motion that envoys sent by public decree and at public expense to Antigonus or Demetrius should be called sacred deputies [θεωροί], instead of ambassadors [πρεσβευταί], like those who conducted to Delphi and Olympia the ancient sacrifices in behalf of the cities at the great Hellenic festivals'.[52] Again, Caselius develops Vettori's point by paraphrasing Plutarch's anecdote, but he goes one step further than Vettori, also citing the Greek original text.[53]

47 Aristotle, *Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum libri decem*, trans. John Argyropoulos (Lyon, Beringen: 1551) 79.
48 Vettori P., *Commentarii in X libros Aristotelis* (Florence, Giunti: 1584) 204–205.
49 Ibidem, 205.
50 Plato, *Phaedo*, 58a–b.
51 Caselius, *Magnificentia et Magnanimitas* 11.
52 Plutarch, *Demetrius* 11.
53 Caselius, *Magnificentia et Magnanimitas* 11–12.

Caselius's treatise on magnificence certainly reflects his humanist ideal of *eloquentia*, combining rhetorical skill and ethics in the tradition of Melanchthon and his school. It also shows a heavy Italian influence, not only on a philological, but also on a political level. Following the example of Vettori, Caselius sees his role as a learned man in the active participation in public life. His dedicatory letter makes this point very clear, and his prose style often reminds its readers of authors such as Pontano, rewriting Aristotle's ethics in humanist Latin. Nevertheless, Caselius prefers to follow the argument in the *Ethics* closely, taking his cues from Vettori and the 'philological' tradition. In the end, Caselius's treatise is quite successful in reintroducing the argument of magnificence and to insert it both into the political and the academic culture of his day.

3 Magnificence in the Universities

Caselius's example caught on and inaugurated a tradition of teaching magnificence as part of the Aristotelian ethics in schools and universities. This is not only true for the universities in which Caselius taught, Rostock and Helmstedt, or for Lutheran schools, but also for other academic ambiances and confessions, as the example of the Reformed Bartolomäus Keckermann's (c. 1572–1608) *Disputationes practicae* shows.[54] The *Disputationes* were posthumously published in 1612. As the title indicates, they were held during a two-year course at the Danzig gymnasium, where the reformed Keckermann served as a rector from 1601 until his death. Keckermann's treatment claimed to be systematic, but proceeded by exposing the controversies and problemata surrounding its topics. In fact, different from Caselius' work, the *Disputationes* work with a question and answer format, with the professor providing the questions (or 'problemata') in a systematic manner, while the student performs as 'respondens', or respondent. The discussion of magnificence takes place in disputation 25, concerned with 'de virtutibus moralibus ad alium relatis' – 'moral virtues related to the other'. The 'respondens' is Adam Rubach from Köslin in Western Pomerania (died 1638), later private physician to the princes of Pomerania.[55]

54 Keckermann B., *Disputationes practicae, nempe ethicae, oeconomicae, politicae in gymnasio Dantiscano intra biennium ad lectionum philosophicarum cursum habitae* (Hanover, Heirs of Wilhelm Antonius: 1612). For Keckermann, see Staedtke J., "Keckermann, Bartholomäus". In *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 11 (Berlin: 1977) 388–389 and Facca D., *Bartłomiej Keckerman i filozofia* (Warsaw: 2005).

55 On Rubach, see the funeral oration by Gross C., *Supremis Honoribus, Sanctæque Memoriæ Viri admodum Reverendi, Amplíß. Claríß. & Excellentissimi, Dn. Adami Rubachii, Philos.*

He answers four questions. The first concerns the difference between liberality and magnificence, and the second whether everyone who spends large sums of money is to be called "magnificent". The responses to these first two questions closely follow the arguments in Aristotle. Accordingly, they are also very similar to Caselius's, both confirming the difference between liberality and magnificence and underlining that only a noble man, 'nisi quis apprime sit nobilitatus', can bear the title of magnificence, 'titulus magnificentiae'.[56] Rubach, too, emphasises how very rare, 'rarissimus', magnificence is and that only the very few ever are up to it, 'quam paucissimis per naturam suam competant'.[57] As the answer to question three shows, Rubach thinks of those with special authority, 'singulari quadam et velut heroica autoritate', giving a list of possible contenders: kings, princes, counts, barons, magnates, excluding any kind of 'privatus' or 'plebeius', such as the barber Lycinus, an example taken from Martial and – indirectly – from Pontano.[58] Given the drift of the discussion, it does not surprise that the fourth question, 'Whether magnificence is a heroic virtue', is answered in the affirmative, following the arguments in Francesco Piccolomini's *Universa Philosophia de moribus*.[59]

Similar to Keckermann, another Reformed theologian and professor, Walter Donaldson (c. 1575–before 1630), discusses magnificence in his *Synopseos Philosophiae Moralis*, published in 1621.[60] Donaldson starts with the definition of magnificence and then clarifies that in his contemporaries' usage the title 'magnificus' generally applies to anyone who 'holds a great honour [or title]', 'qui in magno aliquo honoris gradu sunt collocati', and contrasts with Aristotle's explanation in the *Ethics*.[61] Again, the magnificent man cannot be an undistinguished or ignoble person, an 'auctor obscurus'.[62] Donaldson is very interested in founders of cities as well as in those who renovated cities and brought them back to splendour, such as Augustus; again, Pontano serves as a reference.[63] Discussing the vices connected to the virtue of magnificence,

& Medic. D. & Practici experientissimi, Archiatri quondam Pomeranici eminentissimi [...] *Epicedia* (Stettin, Rethe: 1638).

56 Keckermann, *Disputationes Practicae* 153.

57 Ibidem, 153.

58 Ibidem, 153–154. For Lycinus, see Martial, *Epigr*. 8.3.6 and Pontano, "De magnificentia" 182.

59 Keckermann, *Disputationes Practicae* 153, with reference to Piccolomini F., *Universa Philosophia de moribus* (Geneve, Vignon: 1596) gr.6.5, 458.

60 Donaldson W., *Synopseos Philosophiae Moralis* (Sedan, Lamrich: 1621).

61 Ibidem, 186.

62 Ibidem, 187.

63 Ibidem, 188.

Donaldson criticizes works build for the sole purpose of ostentation, 'solius ostentationis gratia'. As an example, he quotes Pliny on the pyramides.[64]

In his discussion of the niggardly person, he brings up another important topic by quoting Cicero's famous dictum that 'the Romans hate private luxury, but they love public magnificence' – 'odit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam, publicam magnificentiam diligit'.[65]

In fact, the public and private aspects of magnificence are a recurrent topic in all disputations on magnificence, and most authors insist on the public character of magnificence. Within this context, Aristotle's own reference to 'private' magnificence is both problematic and binding, and most dissertations simply gloss over the apparent contradiction. The Wittenberg professor for ethics, Johann Deutschmann (1625–1706), for example, divides the works of magnificence into 'sacra' and 'profana', sacred and worldly, subdividing the 'profana magnificentia' in 'publica' and 'privata', public and private magnificence.[66] He uses a widespread argument when he describes private magnificence both as an exception and as an at least partially public exercise.

Deutschmann brings us back to a Lutheran context. His discussion of magnificence is part of his *Exercitationes Ethicae*, published in 1651. It is one of the best examples for a technical and academic treatment of magnificence. The 'respondens' is one Joachim Christiani, who carefully works through the various aspects of the topic. He does not start with the definition, but with the name of magnificence, following Donaldson's lead in identifying different layers of meaning. Grammatically and rhetorically speaking, he argues, 'magnificentia' indicates any kind of excellence, while in general it concerns the title of nobility, 'sumitur pro dignitatis titulo'. Only its specific, ethical meaning regards the virtue of magnificence.[67] The academic character of the disputation comes to the fore in other parts, too. Thus the question whether magnificence and liberality are two different virtues prompts a long discussion, first presenting the arguments contra and then proceeding to the arguments pro in no less than ten parts, starting with the division of the virtues, 'ex virtutum divisione', which simply argues that Aristotle counts magnificence and liberality as two distinct virtues.[68] The third argument concerning the subject of magnificence, 'a subjectis distinctione' is, once more, exclusivist. Whereas liberality can be exercised by anyone, 'quilibet', magnificence cannot be exercised by 'obscure

64 Ibidem, 189.

65 Cicero, *Pro Murena* 76.

66 Deutschmann J., *Exercitationum Ethicarum Disputatio XII. De Magnificentia* (Wittenberg, Haken: 1651), fol. B [1] r.

67 Deutschmann, *Exercitationum Ethicarum Disputatio*, fol. A 2 r–v.

68 Ibidem, fol. A 3 v.

or common men' – 'obscurus et plebejus aliquis homo', but is reserved for 'a prince, a nobleman, or anyone with a title' – 'vir princeps, nobilis, aut alia in dignitate constitutus'.[69] Likewise, the next seven arguments pick up elements already familiar from the preceding discussions, prominent among them the public/private topos in argument seven, 'ex finis differentia'.[70]

The second controversy Deutschmann tackles is the question whether magnificence is a heroic virtue. Here, the Lutheran Deutschmann disagrees with the Reformed Keckermann, as he maintains that every single moral virtue has the potential to become heroic, liberality as well as magnificence.[71] Nevertheless, the disputation insists on the distinction between nobles and commoners, the great and the small, succinctly expressed in the sentence 'great things suit a great man' – 'magnus autem magna decent'. Deutschmann even puts forward a social and political hierarchy: emperors can spend more than prince-electors, prince-electors more than princes, etc.[72]

4 Conclusion

The discussion on Aristotelian magnificence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was widespread and varied. Lefèvre d'Étaples in Paris, Caselius in Rostock and Helmstedt, Keckermann in Danzig, Donaldson in Sedan, Deutschmann in Wittenberg all follow the footsteps of Aristotle. Likewise, the academic literature on the topic was not uniform in style, ranging from Caselius' humanist treatise to the technical-academic disputation of Deutschmann. On the one hand, then, we find a high density and consistency of arguments due to the close reading of the Aristotelian treatment of magnificence. On the other hand, there are some controversial or difficult points, such as the status of magnificence as heroic virtue and the inclusion of 'private' elements into its 'public' nature.

Still, none of these texts falls back on the radical and potentially subversive attack on worldly glory and ostentation by Luther. Rather, on an ideological level, the disputations on magnificence seem to serve a 'conservative' or mainstream agenda, securing the nobles' right to behave 'magnificently' without really questioning the ambiguous character of magnificence between splendour, public use, and ostentation. After all, the disputations were first and foremost

69 Ibidem, fol. A 3 v.
70 Ibidem, fol. [A] [4] r.
71 Ibidem, fol. [A] [4] r–v.
72 Ibidem, fol. B [1] r.

school exercises, aimed at an Aristotelian training of the students in universities and other higher schools such as the gymnasia. (Caselius' treatise, with his dedication to the King of Denmark, is certainly an exception.) In a way, they form part of the performance of splendour in early modern Germany by imbuing students with a stable and highly conventional theory of magnificence, grounding it both in Aristotle's philosophical authority and in its historical dimension, providing examples from the past to better understand its place in contemporary society and politics. In this sense, they give us privileged access to the intricate conceptual structure of early modern magnificence. For a future analysis of these disputations, however, it seems necessary to put this conceptual and textual universe into a wider practical context and to look for places and situations where the mentality expressed in the disputations was put to the test and led to moments of tension on a social and political level.

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CHAPTER 2

Medieval Background to Magnificence in Habsburg Spain: King Solomon as Enduring Exemplar of Divine Worship

Jorge Fernández-Santos

Agustín Bustamente García *IN MEMORIAM*

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1 Bridging a Divide

The currency of anti-Machiavellian works in Counterreformation Spain coincided with a revival of late medieval moral philosophy that set store by Thomas Aquinas's *auctoritas*.[1] It is referred to as a 'bastion of late scholasticism'.[2] As historians remind us, 'Scholastic discussions did not stop when the Middle Ages came to a close; on the contrary, they acquired many new features in sixteenth-century Neo-Scholasticism'.[3] In order to grasp the role *magnificentia* played in establishing Philip II as a sovereign who could stand comparison with Solomon, this chapter will take stock of the critical contribution made by Thomas Aquinas and his followers across Europe to defining the virtues – in the plural form – of the Christian prince.[4] This assessment also requires us to give full credit to Aquinas's efforts at reconciling two competing strands

1 Thanks are due to Stijn Bussels, Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, José Eloy Hortal, Félix Labrador, Alejandro Martínez (Galería Caylus, Madrid), Paulo Catarino Lopes, Matthias Roick, Marta Isabel Sánchez Vasco, and Gijs Versteegen.

2 Trentman J.A., "Scholasticism in the seventeenth century" in Kretzmann N. – Kenny A. – Pinborg J. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge: 1982) 818–837: 818.

3 Kraye J. – Saarinen R., "Introduction" in idem (eds.), *Moral Philosophy on the Threshold of Modernity*, The New Synthese Historical Library 57 (Dordrecht: 2005) 1–6: 1.

4 As Romanus Cessario warns, we must still contend with the lack of a modern, comprehensive history of Thomism. Cessario R., *A Short History of Thomism* (Washington, D.C.: 2003) 33–34.

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of thought on magnificence, both in terms of their inherent value and as a lasting legacy.

Reflecting on the substantive virtue of magnificence and its historical and cultural roots encourages a fruitful exchange between Medieval and Early Modern Studies, under the auspices of Cultural Studies. Yet this line of thought runs counter to the scholarly tendency to study Trastámara Castile (1369–1504) and Aragon (1412–1516) separately from Habsburg Spain (1516–1700). While, admittedly, such an approach reflects what was by all means a momentous dynastic change in the Iberian Peninsula, the onus traditionally put on such a historical milestone finds further historiographical reinforcement in the existing divide between the medievalist and early modernist specialisations. Moreover, from the standpoint of Art History, the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries also mark the early stages of the adoption of the Italian Renaissance style in Spain. The unwelcome result is that scholars may find themselves losing track of fundamental continuities between the late medieval and early modern periods in Iberia. António José Saraiva rightly argued that 'the Renaissance is the result of a historical process initiated in the bosom of the feudal world. [...] It would be therefore wrong to think the Renaissance was a miraculous irruption of forces springing out of nowhere. And it would be equally wrong to see it as a uniform, finished, set entity independent of time and space'.[5]

In Spain as elsewhere in Europe, the sheer bulk of scholarship on Renaissance art and culture has contributed to convenient pigeonholing, making us exceedingly aware of what is pre-Renaissance or 'full-blown Renaissance'. Perhaps overly preoccupied with formal or stylistic analysis, more blinkered art historians have been prone to lose sight of the late medieval intellectual strata on which Renaissance art developed – a short-sightedness that more inquiring minds in the art historical field have had no qualms contesting. Indeed, the simplistic view that efforts to recover the formal vocabulary of the Ancients operated in isolation from a densely qualifying web of theological caveats, tenets, and contingencies misses the essential point that the recovery endeavour cannot be disentangled from its cultural matrix: it operated and was advocated *sub conditione*, in response to circumstances of all kinds. Sweeping and unsophisticated assumptions about a 'pagan' Renaissance fail to realise the crucial fact that the groundwork for the Quattrocento and Cinquecento revival of the Antique, which entailed assimilating it into a Christian agenda, was laid out in the Middle Ages. Few figures can rival the role of Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), who had witnessed first-hand in his native Naples Emperor Frederick II's

5 Saraiva A.J., *História da Cultura em Portugal*, 3 vols. (Lisbon: 1950–1962), vol. 2 (1953), 16–17.

(r. 1220–50) politically charged investment in the Antique[6] and in legitimising Antiquity and its vestiges, including those dating from before the Edict of Milan, as part of an overtly Christian agenda. The Dominican's reliance on Aristotelian moral philosophy as outlined in the *Nicomachean Ethics* was of course equally aimed at Christian use.

It is seldom recognised that the characterisation of Philip II (r. 1556–98) as a new Solomon and the epitome of royal magnificence requires straddling the 'Renaissance vs. medieval' divide. Fernando Chueca for one claimed that Philip II's royal monastery of El Escorial represented the culmination of the medieval concept of a *rex-monachus*.[7] More specifically, the connection between Solomon's magnificence and that of late medieval and early modern rulers was not only predicated on biblical prestige but also depended on the ambiguous and complex Christianisation of Classical virtue that took place during the Middle Ages. According to Erwin Panofsky, prior to its revival by Petrarch and Boccaccio, the running dilemma of Virtue versus Fortune in the Greco-Roman world 'lost all its urgency' in medieval Europe precisely on account of Christian certainties that turned the inscrutable goddess Fortuna into a mere handmaiden of God and abrogated a single universal *virtus* in favour of a bevy of specialised *virtutes*, among them the now Christianised magnificence.[8] It should also be noted that in line with often simplistic readings of Jacob Burckhardt's *Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860), Renaissance Studies have put a premium on magnificence as a paradigmatic and all but isolable princely virtue expressive of an emancipatory spirit that found in the Humanistic revival of the Classics worthy ethical models with which to leave behind medieval obscurantism.

It is true that Machiavelli's *The Prince* (written in 1513, but not published until 1532) has been interpreted as a post-medieval return to the ancient concept of a single *virtus*. The Florentine Secretary posited an overarching *virtù* covering the range of not necessarily moral attributes that 'actually enable a prince to maintain his state'.[9] Yet, at loggerheads with such a consequentialist and instrumentalist *virtù*, a plurality of virtues, including magnificence, continued to thrive in early modern Europe in what amounted to a distinctly cross-confessional and often explicitly anti-Machiavellian phenomenon

6 Ghisalberti A., "Pulchrum. Alle origini della bellezza come trascendentale in Tommaso d'Aquino" in Bona Castellotti M. – Giuliano A. (eds.), *Exempla. La rinascita dell'antico nell'arte italiana. Da Federico II ad Andrea Pisano* (Pisa: 2008) 219–223: 219.

7 Chueca Goitia F., "El Escorial a través del espíritu de su fundador", *Revista de Occidente* 1, 1 (1963) 80–99: 84.

8 Panofsky E., *The Iconography of Correggio's Camera di San Paolo*, Studies of the Warburg Institute 26 (London: 1961) 62.

9 Skinner Q., *From Humanism to Hobbes: Studies in Rhetoric and Politics* (Cambridge: 2018) 57.

resting on the medieval Christian interpretation and re-elaboration of the ethical writings of Ancient authors – the most influential of whom were Cicero and, beginning in the thirteenth century, Aristotle.

2 Aquinas's Christianised Magnificence

The European discourse on the virtues, rooted in Patristic thought and in the thorough Christianisation of Classical precedents on the matter, developed over many centuries, and the place magnificence occupied evolved accordingly. The principal function of the sequence of seven 'contrary' or 'remedial' virtues was to counter the seven (or eight) capital sins first listed in early Christian times.[10] Yet, as moral authors from the Middle Ages were well aware, the set of seven remedial virtues did not match the seven heavenly virtues consisting of the three theological and four cardinal virtues. Grounded in both monastic spirituality and the ethical psychology of Antiquity, the quaternary of cardinal virtues was first listed in the Latin West in the sixth century as part of basic moral instruction for the laity. More pointedly, archbishop Martin of Braga in Gallaecia (ca. 520–580), who is known to have converted the Suevi to Roman Catholicism, drew on the Stoic reception of the Platonic cardinal virtues as transmitted by Cicero and Seneca to come up with his own list.[11] As a virtue most authors discussed and encompassed under the cardinal virtue of fortitude, Christianised magnificence was linked to the Platonic-Stoic tradition. Despite the fact that moral theologians from the Middle Ages onwards were well aware of the impossibility of neatly pairing capital vices and heavenly virtues as opposites, magnificence was depicted in medieval trees of virtue designed as counter-images of corresponding trees of vice. A Christianised magnificence appropriately appears as one of several virtues branching off from the cardinal virtue of *fortitudo* in trees illustrating the influential *Speculum Virginum* of the first half of the twelfth century [Fig. 2.1].[12]

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10 The relatively stable septenary or octad of *vitia* originated with Evagrius Ponticus (345–399) in Egypt and was transmitted to the West by John Cassian. Newhauser R., *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 68 (Turnhout: 1993) 108.

11 Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vice* 110–111.

12 Alongside *Requies*, *Constantia*, *Stabilitas*, *Confidentia*, and *Perseverantia*. See, for example, the codex dated to the first quarter of the thirteenth century from the Cistercian Abbey of Himmerode in the Walters Art Museum (Baltimore, Maryland), Ms. W.72, fol. 26r. For a modern critical edition of the *Speculum* see Seyfarth J. (ed.), *Speculum Virginum*, Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis 5 (Turnhout: 1990).

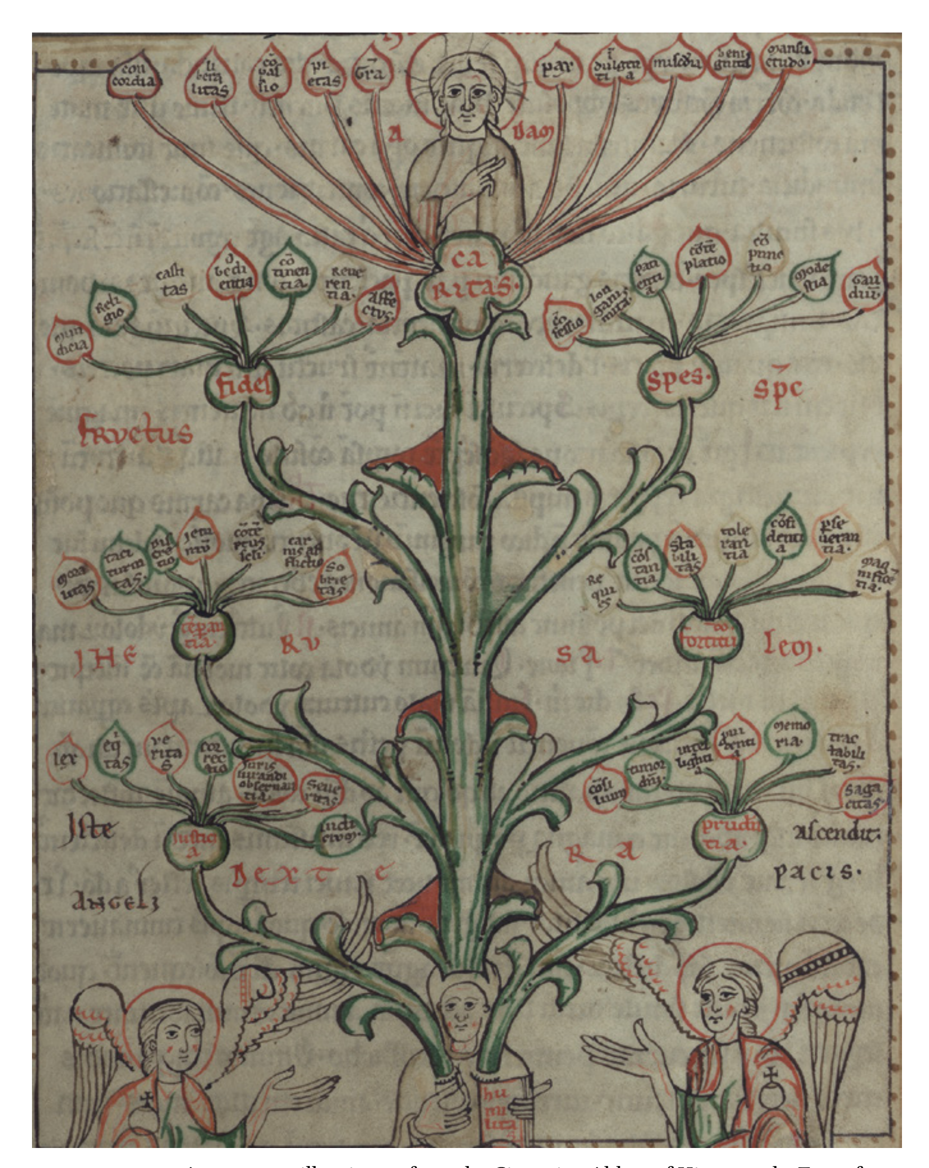


FIGURE 2.1 Anonymous illuminator from the Cistercian Abbey of Himmerode, Tree of Virtues. Illuminated parchment, 22.8 × 31.2 cm. Part of Conrad of Hirsau (attrib.), *Speculum Virginum*, 1st quarter of 13th century. Baltimore (Maryland), Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.72, fol. 26r
IMAGE © WALTERS ART MUSEUM

Yet it was precisely after the European reinvigoration of Aristotelian thought in the thirteenth century that the traditional anchoring of magnificence within the framework of the cardinal virtues shifted. Aristotle's effort in his *Nicomachean Ethics* to set apart *megaloprepeia* or magnificence, which entails great expenditure, from *megalopsychia* or magnanimity, which aims at great honour, was at the root of Thomas Aquinas's careful differentiation between making great things and doing great deeds. For Aristotle – and especially for Aquinas, who regarded *magnificentia* as the peculiar virtue of the prince – magnanimity was understood as the indispensable internal disposition of mind required for *magnum facere*.[13] Yet the magnanimous state of mind might or might not materialise in the form of magnificence's perforce tangible fruits. Aquinas strove to harmonise the cardinal-virtues tradition – in which magnificence retained, in agreement with Ciceronian ethics, only a limited association to wealth – with an Aristotelian tradition in which the connection between liberality and magnificence was well established.[14]

Aquinas's Christian interpretation of Aristotle was by all means decisive in shaping late medieval thought on magnificence. Citing both Macrobius's and Andronicus's sevenfold divisions of fortitude, the Dominican theologian endorsed Cicero's fourfold division (magnificence, confidence, patience, and perseverance) because, he argued, it subsumed the other two.[15] It would appear that in so doing Aquinas chose to stress the distance between liberality and magnificence.[16] The former, as a part of justice, falls under the virtues designed to defeat the concupiscible passions; the latter, belonging to fortitude, is especially suitable for combating the irascible passions.[17] Such a view would suggest that magnificence and liberality differ qualitatively and not merely

13 Moloney M.F., "St. Thomas and Spenser's Virtue of Magnificence", *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 52, 1 (1953) 58–62: 59.

14 Maclachlan H., "'In the Person of Prince Arthur': Spenserian *Magnificence* and the Ciceronian Tradition", *University of Toronto Quarterly* 46, 2 (1976–1977) 125–146: 135, 138.

15 *Summa Theologiae* IIaIIae 128:1. Hohlstein M., "Clemens princeps: Clementia as a Princely Virtue in Michael of Prague's De regimine principum" in Bejczy I.P. – Nederman C.J. (eds.), *Princely Virtues in the Middle Ages 1200–1500*, Disputatio 9 (Turnhout: 2007) 201–217: 209. Müller J., "In War and Peace: The Virtue of Courage in the Writings of Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas" in Bejczy I.P. (ed.), *Virtue Ethics in the Middle Ages: Commentaries on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics, 1200–1500*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 160 (Leiden – Boston 2008) 77–99: 88.

16 Aquinas Thomas / Atkins E.M. – Williams T. (eds.), *Disputed Questions on the Virtues*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy (Cambridge: 2005) 256–257.

17 *Summa Theologiae* IaIIae 60:5.

quantitatively in terms of the expense involved.[18] As Harry Jaffa remarked, in spite of Aquinas's willingness to concede that gentile displays of magnificence occurring prior to the Christian Revelation were in accordance with natural reason and therefore virtuous, magnificence – alongside courage or fortitude and magnanimity – posed the conflict of 'appearances' between pagan and Christian virtues at its most striking.[19] In other words, the elitist character of magnificence and magnanimity in Antiquity clashed with the egalitarian moral thought that was at the heart of medieval Christianity. Beginning in the late thirteenth century, theologians refuted Aristotle's conception of magnificence as discriminatory, arguing instead that the poor – among whom they included Christ himself – were capable of exercising the *habitus* of magnificence by means of imaginary acts, a view Thomas Aquinas defended in the *Summa theologiae* and even in his commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics*.[20] To uphold the Christian tenet that the virtues should be open to everyone at least *in potentia*,[21] Aquinas could not dismiss the possibility of a pauper being potentially *magnificus*. As stated by István Bejczy, the Dominican's solution, which was undoubtedly influential in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and beyond, was discordant with two Aristotelian views: the restriction of magnificence to the wealthy and the notion that the acquisition of a virtue required practice and not simply the inner intention of the moral agent.[22]

Precisely because the Stoic tradition did not lay stress on the differentiation between magnificence and magnanimity, it was more compatible with the Christian diffidence towards 'elite' virtues. When adopting the Aristotelian distinction between magnificence and magnanimity, Aquinas had to be careful not to countenance the possibility of a virtue restricted to the rich from which Christ could be excluded. Not surprisingly, the contention in the *Summa* that Christ showed the highest kind of liberality and magnificence in his utter contempt for all riches has an unmistakably Stoic ring to it.[23] As to magnificence

18 This would be the case for the *Summa Theologiae* quoted in the preceding note but apparently not so for Aquinas's *Sententia libri Ethicorum*. See Pakaluk M., "Structure and Method in Aquinas's Appropriation of Aristotelian Ethical Theory" in Hoffmann T. – Müller J. – Perkams M. (eds.), *Aquinas and the Nicomachean Ethics* (Cambridge: 2013) 33–51: 42.

19 Jaffa H.V., *Thomism and Aristotelianism: A Study of the Commentary by Thomas Aquinas on the Nicomachean Ethics* (Chicago: 1952) 35, 162.

20 Bejczy I.P., *The Cardinal Virtues in the Middle Ages: A Study in Moral Thought from the Fourth to the Fourteenth Century*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 202 (Leiden – Boston: 2011) 271, 273.

21 *Summa Theologiae* IaIIae 65:1; IIaIIae 137:1; Suppl.IIIae 16:1.

22 Bejczy, *The Cardinal Virtues* 273–274.

23 *Summa Theologiae* IIIa 10:2. See also Hoffmann T., "Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas on Magnanimity" in Bejczy I.P. (ed.), *Virtue Ethics in the Middle Ages: Commentaries*

in actu, Aquinas did not need to stray from Aristotle. The combination of the Aristotelian 'common good' and the Stagirite's singling out of divine worship as the most exalted means of fulfilling this munificent virtue's vocation for public utility was an ideal template. Richard Du Rocher noted that Aristotle provided a synthesis of magnificence and holiness in his *Nicomachean Ethics*.[24] It served to connect the action of giving lavishly with the championing of holiness. Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* accordingly outlined that the chief goal of magnificence was the production of great works, something which was to be interpreted especially in reference to divine honour.[25] In other words, the most commendable expenditure involved divine worship and holy sacrifices which, alongside religion, became the chief object of the Dominican philosopher's Christianised magnificence.[26]

In the areas Aristotle pinpointed as pertaining to magnificence, the common good was understood to prevail. Besides buildings, this purview included offerings, gifts, sacrifices, spectacles, banquets, and so on. Aquinas would further stress the religious connotations of the virtue, which he saw as a means of honouring God. It is therefore fitting that in the following century, that is, the 1300s, the Dominican Galvano Fiamma (1283–1344) chose to quote Aristotle in order to stress not just magnificent residences for secular uses but also honourable churches.[27] He expounded his ideas in the chapter entitled "De magnificentia edificiorum" ("On the Magnificence of Buildings"), which was written bearing in mind the accomplishments of his lord Azzone Visconti in the field of architecture. Fiamma specifically mentioned the sumptuous décor of the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin, which Visconti had erected in Milan as his future burial place and which is now better known as San Gottardo in Corte.[28] However, the focus on architecture was not exclusive. Fiamma did not omit sacred festivals and was careful to boast that 100,000 people participated in the 1335 Corpus Christi feast led by Azzone Visconti's uncle, the then bishop of Novara Giovanni Visconti.[29]

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on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics, 1200–1500, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 160 (Leiden – Boston 2008) 101–129: 123–124.

24 *Nichomachean Ethics*, 1122b–1123a. Durocher R.J., "Arthur's Gift, Aristotle's Magnificence, and Spenser's Allegory: A Study of 'Faerie Queene'", *Modern Philology* 82, 2 (1984) 185–190: 187.

25 *Summa Theologiae* IIaIIae 134:2.

26 Moloney, "St. Thomas" 62.

27 Green L., "Galvano Fiamma, Azzone Visconti and the Revival of the Classical Theory of Magnificence", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 53 (1990) 98–113: 101. Guerzoni G., "Liberalitas, Magnificentia, Splendor: The Classic Origins of Italian Renaissance Lifestyles", *History of Political Economy* 31, 5 (1999) 332–378: 356.

28 Green, "Galvano Fiamma" 101–102, 110–111.

29 Green, "Galvano Fiamma" 105.

The Aristotelian-Thomistic interpretation of magnificence was well adjusted to what Philippe Buc detected as a tendency in Biblical exegesis towards the affirmation of hierarchies, both spiritual and secular, in the Christian West in the second third of the century.[30] King Solomon, traditionally regarded as an ante-type of Christ, a *typus Christi*, drew increased attention at this time from the exegetes of both pontifical and royal power and prerogatives. The widely circulated *De regimine principum*, traditionally credited to Aquinas although actually completed by his disciple Ptolemy of Lucca (ca. 1236–1327),[31] was critically important in this respect as it provided scriptural references to Solomon's unsurpassed regal magnificence in the context of political writing for the education of secular rulers.[32] The currency of Solomon as the preeminent Christian exemplar of royal magnificence in the late medieval period can be gauged from the concordance tables the printer Heinrich Gran published in 1490 (*Concordantie minores Biblie*), where under 'Salomonis magnificentia' readers were directed to two key and nearly identical biblical verses: 1 *Kings* 10:23 and 2 *Chronicles* 9:22.[33] Published in the same year, 1490, Alfonso de Palencia's bilingual Latin-Castilian dictionary defined magnificence as greatness in doing things well (*bene agendis*).[34]

Of the later writings endorsing Aquinas's re-elaboration of the Aristotelian definition of magnificence, mention should be made of a work by an author who, like Galvano Fiamma, belonged to the Dominican order and was celebrated for his devotion to the Doctor Angelicus: Giovanni Ludovico Vivaldi (d. after 1520).[35] The next-to-last treatise in his early sixteenth-century *Opus regale* is significantly entitled *Tractatus de magnificentia gloriae Salomonis*.[36]

30 Buc P., *L'ambiguïté du livre. Prince, pouvoir, et peuple dans les commentaires de la Bible au Moyen Âge*, Théologie historique 95 (Paris: 1994) 161, 399.

31 Including of course Vivaldi, *Opus regale*, fol. 285v. For an updated discussion on which parts should be ascribed to Aquinas (generally assumed to be Books I through II.4.7) or Ptolemy of Lucca, see Blythe J.M., *The Life and Works of Tolomeo Fiadoni* (*Ptolemy of Lucca*), Disputatio 16 (Turnhout: 2009) 157–208.

32 Ptolemy of Lucca – Aquinas Thomas, *On the Government of Rulers – De regimine principum*, The Middle Ages Series, Blythe J.M (trans.) (Philadelphia, PA: 1997) 113, 115, 119, 141, 167, 222, with reference to: *Ecclesiastes* 2:4–8; 1 *Kings* 8:5,63; 1 *Kings* 10:23–25; and *Matthew* 6:24,28–29.

33 *Concordantie minores Biblie* (Hagenau: 1490) s.f.

34 Palencia Alfonso de, *Universal vocabulario en latín y en romance* (Seville: 1490) fol. 259v.

35 Renazzi F.M., *Storia dell'Università degli Studi di Roma detta comunemente La Sapienza …*, 4 vols. (Rome: 1803–1806), vol. 1, 214. Vivaldi, *Opus regale*, fol. 253v, with reference to *Summa Theologiae* IIaIIae 134:2.

36 The work must have earned some success as three closely spaced editions (Lyon: 1508; Paris: 1511, and Lyon: 1512) followed the ed. princeps (Saluzzo: 1507). All four were illustrated with woodcuts.



FIGURE 2.2 Solomon enthroned. Woodcut illustration, 9.9 × 14.2 cm, ca. 1512. From Giovanni Ludovico Vivaldi, *Opus regale in quo continentur infrascripta opuscula* […], in-8º (Lyon, Étienne Gueynard: 1512), inserted after fol. 260
IMAGE © BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA, MADRID

Few if any authors can outdo Vivaldi's thoroughness in expounding 'Solomonic' magnificence. By special gift of God (*ex speciali dono Dei*), Solomon excelled as the unrivalled incarnation of the one virtue that best befitted great men [Fig. 2.2]. Vivaldi noted Solomon's comeliness and precocious wisdom; the size of the territories under his command; the magnitude of his court and army and the number of his subjects and tributaries; his wealth and income; the buildings and the temple whose construction he ordered; the temple's pomp, ostentation and beauty; the House of the Forest of Lebanon that dazzled the Queen of Sheba; the civic architecture and the cities he either built, improved or restored; his uncanny understanding of Scripture and the writings he bequeathed to humanity such as the *Book of Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes* and the *Song of Songs*; his divinely inspired administration of Justice; and, alas, his fall in old age, when he became prey to concupiscent sin and idolatry.[37] Vivaldi's in-depth treatment of Solomon's magnificence was strategically fashioned to underscore this king's authoritative and exemplary *regalis magnificentia*,[38] his unique status as a monarch whose magnificence outranked that of all princes and crowned heads of Gentility and the Old Testament. Solomon's altogether privileged position was sanctioned by Scripture: 'And Solomon was magnified above all the kings of the earth for riches and glory' (2 *Chronicles* 9:22).[39]

Its ultimate origin being divine and inscrutable, we may speak of Aquinas's Christianised (royal) magnificence as a virtue whose conditional elite status rested on its usefulness in promoting divine worship and the public good. Although the notion that Christian rulers should strive for the salvation of their subjects was already present in Augustine (*De civitate Dei* 5:24) and could be considered almost a 'stock in trade of ecclesiastical writers', it must be interpreted in light of the turning point represented by Aquinas's departure from an earlier Platonist and Augustinian orientation that viewed politics as a necessary evil in a fallen world. For the Dominican writer, guided by Aristotle, secular government ought to pursue earthly wellbeing inasmuch as the virtuous life should be the end of human association.[40] Aquinas's Aristotelian preference

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37 Vivaldi Giovanni Ludovico, *Opus regale in quo continentur infrascripta opuscula ...* (Lyon: 1508), fols. 152v–296v. Vivaldi sets out to study Solomon's magnificence under nine headings: (1) corporeal beauty; (2) awesome, divinely inspired wisdom; (3) extent of lands he ruled over; (4) number of servants, attendants and soldiers and vast expenditure; (5) superabundance of natural and artificial wealth; (6) numerous and outstanding buildings; (7) understanding and output of holy writing; (8) prudence in administering justice; and (9) pleasure and delights blinding his magnificence and leading to abhorrent sins.

38 Vivaldi, *Opus regale*, fol. 270r–v.

39 'Magnificatus est igitur rex Salomon super omnes reges terrae divitiis et sapientia'. See also Vivaldi, *Opus regale*, fols. 253v–254r.

40 Dyson R.W., "Introduction" in ibid. (ed. and trans.), *Aquinas Political Writings*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge: 2002) xvii–xxxvi: xxiv–xxvii.

for monarchical government, which was rooted in a rational preference for unity, was qualified by both the right to resist tyranny in appropriate circumstances and the understanding that those with surplus property were morally indebted to the poor.[41] It is in such an intellectual climate, which carved out for secular government greater independence from ecclesiastical *potestas*, that the soteriological function of magnificence acquired renewed relevance as a welcome source of legitimation for secular rulers.

3 The Magnificent Worship of Spain's New Solomon

An early sign of the reception of Aquinas's Christianised Aristotle in Castile can be found in *De preconiis Hispanie*, written by Juan Gil de Zamora (ca. 1241–ca. 1318) for Sancho IV (r. 1284–1295). Taking his cue from Thomas's endorsement of Cicero's fourfold division of *fortitudo*, this Franciscan polygraph ranked *magnificentia* alongside *confidentia*, *patientia* and *perseverantia*.[42] Early into the fifteenth century, ostensibly quoting Aristotle's *Ethics* and *De regimine principum* but actually citing the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum*, this author of a Castilian sermonary singled out magnificence as a requisite attribute of strong, leonine kingship from which 'the poor of the earth' stood to benefit. Without mincing words, the sermon also warned against excessive royal greed or gruelling taxation exacted for the sake of pomp and ostentation.[43] Prominent fifteenth-century churchmen with close ties to the court of Castile such as Alonso de Cartagena (1384–1456) or Hernando de Talavera (1428–1507) contributed to the reception of Aristotle's magnificence and Aquinas's interpretation of it by promoting its cultivation and endorsing its growing prestige as a noble – and royal – virtue.[44] The Thomist Alfonso Fernández de Madrigal (1410–1455), known as 'El Tostado', is remembered as a prodigiously prolific author. In 1444, wishing to appoint him his counsellor, John II of Castile

41 Dyson, "Introduction" xxvi, xxix, xxxi.

42 Dacosta A., "El rey virtuoso: un ideal político del siglo XIII de la mano de Fray Juan Gil de Zamora", *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos* 33 (2006) 99–121: 104–105, 108.

43 Sánchez Sánchez M.A. (ed.), *Un sermonario castellano medieval. El Ms. 1854 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca*, Textos recuperados 19, 2 vols. (Salamanca: 1999), vol. 1, 56, 216–218; vol. 2, 741–743. Aquinas Thomas – Dyson R.W. (ed. and trans.), *Aquinas Political Writings*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge: 2002) 56, recalled that the Lord forbade even a king to have excessive wealth or to make too great a show of magnificence in order to avoid the excesses of pride and tyranny and to discourage sedition arising from envy and ambition.

44 Alonso Ruiz B., "La nobleza en la ciudad: arquitectura y magnificencia a finales de la Edad Media", *Studia Historica: Historia Moderna* 34 (2012) 217–253. Fernández Gallardo L., "Las ideas políticas de Alonso de Cartagena", *Res publica* 18 (2007) 413–426: 420–423.

(r. 1406–54) ordered him to leave the Charterhouse of Scala Dei in Tarragona. El Tostado's impressive written output includes a series of *Questions on moral philosophy* (*Cuestiones de filosofía moral*, 1453) where the moral virtues are expounded following the blueprint of the *Nicomachean Ethics*.[45] A document from the chancellery of Henry IV of Castile (r. 1454–1474), dated 1456–1457, showcased the fundamental agreement of Scripture, the Church Fathers and the Doctors of the Church with the philosophers of Gentility when it came to the importance of honouring temples and those in charge of divine worship.[46] To be sure, alongside works by Cartagena and Talavera, Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* in both Latin and Spanish, copies of *De regimine principum*, and Aristotle's *Politics* supplemented with Aquinas's commentary were found among the books of Henry IV's half-sister, Queen Isabella I of Castile (r. 1474–1504).[47] The degree to which the Iberian kingdoms continued to strive to conform to the standards of Aristotelian magnificence in the late fifteenth-century has been noted in connection with the lavish celebrations marking the wedding of Isabella's daughter, Isabel of Aragon, to Afonso of Portugal in 1490.[48]

Associating monarchs with David and/or Solomon was a longstanding practice in Iberia's medieval kingdoms. Bishop Lucas of Tuy described Alfonso VIII (r. 1158–1214) as a 'new Solomon'.[49] Perhaps the most remarkable precedent of a king presented as a 'new Solomon' dates back to thirteenth-century Castile: Alfonso X 'the Wise' (r. 1252–84).[50] To be sure, this Castilian king's status as a

45 A quarter of a century later Juan Ferrer edited the *Commentum Sancti Thomae fratris Sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum in Aristotelis Ethicorum libros* (Barcelona, 1478). Hernández Martín R., "Aportación del tomismo español al pensamiento medieval hispano" in Soto Rábanos J.M. (ed.), *Pensamiento medieval hispano. Homenaje a Horacio Santiago-Otero*, 2 vols. (Madrid: 1998), vol. 1, 1117–1142: 1132, 1141.

46 Martín Prieto P., "Los preámbulos como instrumento de comunicación y propaganda de la realeza Trastámara en Castilla" in Nieto Soria J.M. – Villarroel González Ó. (eds.), *Comunicación y conflicto en la cultura política peninsular* (*siglos XIII al XV*), Serie Historia Medieval (Madrid: 2008) 229–261: 251–253.

47 Ruiz García E., *Los libros de Isabel la Católica. Arqueología de un patrimonio escrito* (Salamanca: 2004) 385, 392, 394, 428, 430, 447–48, 503–504.

48 Alonso Ruiz B., "Doña Isabel de Castilla, entre la magnificencia castellana y portuguesa. Ceremonias del enlace con el príncipe Don Alfonso" in López Cordón V. – Franco Rubio G. (eds.), *La reina Isabel I y las reinas de España: realidad, modelos e imagen historiográfica* (Madrid: 2005) 105–121: 106.

49 Linehan P., *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, Studies of the Warburg Institute 26 (Oxford: 1993) 203, 303, 498.

50 Domínguez Rodríguez A., "El Officium Salomonis de Carlos V en el Monasterio de El Escorial. Alfonso X y el planeta Sol. Absolutismo monárquico y hermetismo", *Reales Sitios* 22, 83 (1985) 11–28: 11, 14. On Alfonso X's magnificence as patron of the Alfonsine

lettered prince and a man of learning reinforced his comparison to Solomon. In a passage of the *Siete Partidas* and in the prologue to the *Libro de las cruzes*, Alfonso referred unequivocally to Solomon as his model.[51] Perhaps the most clearly 'Solomonic' depiction of Alfonso is to be found in an illuminated manuscript in the Escorial library showing him holding both the sword of Justice and a codex.[52] In an illustration in Alfonso's personal codex of his *Cantigas de Santa María* he appears kneeling in worship before the Tree of Jesse with the Madonna and Child enthroned above David and Solomon, thus pointing to Christ's descent *secundum carnem* from the Israelite kings [Fig. 2.3].[53] Alfonso's father Ferdinand III (r. 1217–52) or, later, Alfonso's son and heir Sancho IV may also be mentioned in this connection.[54] Sancho's attachment to the town of Alcalá may stem from the belief that it was there that the Muslim invader Tarik found and seized the fabled Table of Solomon, a Visigothic heirloom believed to have been brought to Spain from Jerusalem. Yet Sancho's bid to 'Solomonic' prestige laid bare his relative disadvantages vis-à-vis a 'wise' father like Alfonso who had furthermore disowned him as a rebellious son.[55] Álvaro Pelayo, bishop of Silves, heaped praise on Alfonso XI (r. 1312–1350) – one of few Castilian kings to be actually anointed – in his *Speculum regum* (c. 1350) and brought to bear Solomon's prophetic gift as an example of the divinely inspired wisdom

tables, see Obregón y Cereceda Antonio de, *Discursos sobre la filosofía moral de Aristóteles* (Valladolid: 1603), fol. 112r. The Castilian king's patronage of astronomy is likened to Alexander the Great's munificence commissioning Aristotle's *History of Animals*. Boudet J.-P., "Le modèle du roi sage aux XIII[e] et XIV[e] siècles: Salomon, Alphonse X et Charles V", *Revue historique* 310/3, 647 (2008) 545–566: 547–552, argues that Alfonso X's desire to be seen as a *novus* Salomon can be detected in the privileged place granted to Solomon's books in Alfonso's *General Estoria*, in the reference to Solomon as a model judge in the *Libro del fuero de los reyes* and the *Siete partidas* and in the importance accorded to Solomon as a cultural model inspired by divine wisdom and capable of discovering secret knowledge.

51 Snow J.T., "Alfonso X: un modelo de rey letrado", *Letras* 61–62 (2010) 297–310: 300.

52 Haro Cortés M., "Semblanza iconográfica de la realeza sapiencial de Alfonso X: las miniaturas liminares de los códices regios", *Revista de poética medieval* 30 (2016) 131–153: 140–141.

53 Linehan, *History and the Historians* 498. Domínguez Rodríguez, "El officium" 14, 16.

54 Sánchez Ameijeiras R., "Algo más sobre Salomón y Sancho IV" in Barral Rivadulla M.D. – López Vázquez J.M. (eds.), *Estudios sobre patrimonio artístico: homenaje del departamento de Historia del Arte y de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela a la Prof. Dra. María del Socorro Ortega Romero* (Santiago de Compostela: 2002) 165–173. Nogales Rincón D., *La representación religiosa de la monarquía castellano-leonesa: la Capilla Real (1252–1504)*, unpubl. doctoral dissertation, Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 2009, 1085.

55 Linehan, *History and the Historians* 485–500, 538.



FIGURE 2.3 Anonymous illuminator from the scriptorium of Alphonso X the Wise of Castile, "Como loa el Rey a verga de Jesse que e Santa Maria" (The Troubadour King Worships the Tree of Jesse whence Mary Springs), in the so-called "rich codex" (*códice rico*, begun ca. 1280) of Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa María*, cantiga XX, fol. 32v. Illuminated vignette on parchment with gold-leaf highlights, ca. 10 × 10 cm. Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial (Ms. T-I-1)
IMAGE COURTESY OF © PATRIMONIO NACIONAL, MADRID

of sovereigns.[56] In the early period of his reign, from 1454 to 1462, poetry was penned to extol the young Henry IV. Pedro de León, a *converso* from Valladolid, wrote the young king's *laudatio* in verse, entitled *Clio, wake up! wake up!* In it Henry, who later became the butt of ridicule and infamy, was compared to Solomon.[57] He possessed a ruby which was supposedly Solomon's, while his

56 Tang F., "El 'Rex Fidelissimus': rivalidad hispano-francesa en la Castilla de Alfonso XI", *Studia Historica: Historia Medieval* 20–21 (2002–2003) 189–206: 202.

57 Perea Rodríguez Ó., "Enrique IV de Castilla en la poesía de cancionero: algún 'afán' ignorado entre las 'mil congoxas' conocidas", *Cancionero general* 3 (2005) 33–71: 61–62.

half-sister and successor Isabella I owned a 'signo de Solomón' in gold adorned with seven hanging pearls.[58]

Although in 1520 Charles V (r. 1516–1556) was presented with a lavish codex entitled *Officium Salomonis* as a gift to take back with him from Ghent to Spain,[59] his warrior-like biography was more suited to comparison with King David. 'Solomonic' tropes were applied more fittingly to Charles's son Philip II of Spain in his youthful years as prince.[60] By the time of Philip II's death his 'Solomonic' characterisation was commonplace. Several authors from the period may be quoted as witnesses. Baltasar Porreño considered that as Philip's magnificence outmatched Alexander the Great's, inasmuch as his lavish expenditure on the Escorial trumped all pagan examples on various counts, not least that the king of Spain had 'built a house for God' – just as, it may be added as a matter of course, Solomon had.[61] Porreño devoted many pages to listing instances of the Habsburg king's 'royal magnificence'. Among them religious patronage was accorded pride of place.[62] For an early modern sovereign of rare 'magnificence' building on a scale comparable to that of Philip II, it was almost de rigueur to be compared to the 'magnificent' Solomon.[63] The myth of Philip II as *novus Salomon* was indeed enduring, for the builder of the Escorial monastery continued to be extolled as 'Spain's Solomon' as late as 1736.[64]

58 Ladero Quesada M.Á. – Cantera Montenegro M., "El tesoro de Enrique IV en el Alcázar de Segovia 1465–1475", *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos* 31 (2004) 307–351: 313, 344, 351.

59 Domínguez Rodríguez, "El officium" 23–24.

60 Many scholars have rightly called attention to Philip's state trip to Italy and the Low Countries. At the lavish reception prepared for him in Ghent, the Habsburg prince was likened to a youthful Solomon, the worthy successor of a David-like father, Charles V. Calvete de Estrella Juan, *El felicíssimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso príncipe don Phelippe, hijo del emperador don Carlos Quinto Máximo, desde España a sus tierras de la baxa Alemaña ...* (Antwerp : 1552), fol. 101v.

61 Porreño Baltasar, *Los dichos y hechos del rey Phelipe II llamado con justa razón el Prudente* (Bruselas: 1666) 218. The ed. princeps was dated 1639.

62 Porreño, *Los dichos* 218, 220, 232–239, 241–244, 249–253, 255, 263–269.

63 Martín de Azpilicueta described Philip II's magnificence as 'rara' and 'maxima', linking it to his lofty 'animum'. Azpilcueta Martín de, *Commentarios, enchiridia, tractatus, relectionesque, ac denique consilia omnia complectentes ...* (Venice: 1601), fols. 145v–146r. As was stated in Gilbert Génébrard's widely used chronology: 'Magnificentia ipsius [Salomonis] rursum eluxit in publicis ædificijs construendis'. Genebrardus Gilbertus, *Chronographiae libri quatuor ...* (Paris: 1580) 51. Later, the Jesuit Giovanni Stefano Menochio selected Solomon and Ahasuerus as the two most exalted examples of regal magnificence in the Old Testament. Menochius Ioannes Stephanus, *Hieropoliticon sive institutiones politicae e Sacris Scriptoris depromtæ ...* (Lyon: 1625) 527–538.

64 San Nicolás Pablo de, *Siglos geronymianos, historia general, eclesiástica, monástica, y secular ...*, 16 vols. (Madrid: 1723–1742), vol. 11, dedication.

Paying insufficient attention to the Escorial's inception and construction history, some historians have argued that a hermetic or occultist agenda underlay Philip II's masterplan for his royal monastery, which was to stand as a 'new temple' of Jerusalem.[65] In his seminal contribution on the Escorial, Agustín Bustamante disproved that the Escorial was envisioned by its Habsburg founder to either recreate or outdo Solomon's temple. Bustamante argued instead that the size and cost of the monastery encouraged such flattering comparisons *ex post facto*. Indeed, the decision to place the statues of six Biblical kings, including David and Solomon, on the basilica's façade [Figs. 2.4 and 2.5] was arrived at very late and furthermore bypassed the architect in charge at the time, Juan de Herrera, whose design envisaged pyramidal finials chosen for their funereal character. The learned Biblical scholar Benito Arias Montano inspired a superimposed 'Solomonic' programme for a monastic complex whose principal function from its very inception had been to serve as a lasting pantheon to the Habsburg dynasty.[66] Although the belated decision to add statues of Jewish kings to the façade may have responded to various stimuli, scholars should heed Bustamante and refrain from interpreting it retrospectively. It stands to reason, moreover, that it should be read as stemming from a plainly exoteric – as opposed to an esoteric or Hermetic – programme:[67] David the warrior with his sword, sceptre, and lyre and Solomon the wise with his book and sceptre greet visitors from the centre of the façade. Beneath them Latin inscriptions remind us of their respective roles as receptor of the divine plan (*exemplar*) and actual constructor of the Lord's temple (*templum Domini*).[68] Outside, the

65 The key figure was René Taylor, a disciple of Rudolf Wittkower influenced by the recovery of Renaissance Hermetism at the Warburg Institute in the post-war period. The implications of Taylor's ideas are discussed in Fernández-Santos J., "Confessionalising Visual Exegesis and Its Confessional Reception: The Case of Prado and Villalpando's In Ezechielem Explanationes" in Strunck C. (ed.), *Faith, Politics and the Arts: Early Modern Cultural Transfer between Catholics and Protestants*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 158 (Wiesbaden: 2019) 271–298.

66 Bustamante García A., *La octava maravilla del mundo: estudio histórico sobre el Escorial de Felipe II* (Madrid: 1994) 637–640.

67 Fernández Santos J., *Juan Caramuel y la probable arquitectura*, Confluencias 15 (Madrid: 2014) 176.

68 'DAVID/ OPERIS/ EXEMPLAR/ A DOMINO/ RECE-/ PIT' and 'SALOMON/ TEMPLVM/ D[*OMI*]NO/ ÆDIFICA-/ TVM DEDI-/ CAVIT'. Santos Francisco de los, *Descripción del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, única maravilla del mundo, Fábrica de el prudentíssimo rey Filipo Segundo …* (Madrid: 1698), fol. 11r–v, where the inscriptions are transcribed and commented upon in relation to 1 *Chronicles* 23 and 2 *Samuel* 7.

prominence and privileged location of the two kings were clearly intended to prepare worshippers to make – once inside – the connection with the lavish cenotaphs rising on either side of the main altar [Figs. 2.6 and 2.7]. The inference to be drawn was (and is) that the gilt kneeling statue of Charles V surrounded by his closest family on the Gospel side should be associated with David the elderly warrior king, in the same way that the twin group cenotaph on the Epistle side, presided over by Charles V's son, Philip II, should remind us of Solomon, David's youthful son and peaceful temple builder.[69]

Although the scale and explicitness of the statues of Biblical kings at the Escorial were unprecedented, the connection established between Solomon and Christian kings who distinguished themselves as temple builders was part of an embedded culture with deep medieval roots. As we have seen, Solomon emerged and re-emerged as a kingly trope in Castile. The Escorial, the very epitome of Habsburg *pietas*, may be considered a lofty example of royal *magnificentia* in the post-Aquinas tradition. Rather than vying with Solomon, Philip II was building on a scale fit for a magnificent Christian king who revered the Israelite king's unrivalled display of magnificence in providing an earthly abode for Yahve. We find fresh proof of this in the arguments used in Abraham Ortelius's *Orbis terrarum* to present the Escorial as the product of Philip II's royal magnificence. The by far most widely circulated engraving of the Escorial in the early modern period was executed in 1591, seven years before Philip II's death, precisely to be incorporated into upcoming editions of the *Orbis terrarum*. It was based on Pierre Perret's finely crafted engraving of Herrera's bird's-eye view of the monastery [Fig. 2.8], which, judging from the very limited number of extant copies, must have circulated little.[70] Ortelius had embarked on a large-scale and costly publication enterprise designed to make available to elite audiences a lavishly illustrated work designed to provide a comprehensive worldview. At least 41 editions were recorded from 1570 to 1612, three of which were in Spanish.[71]

69 Yet, it should be noted, young Charles was encouraged to model himself after both David and Solomon in a book of hours gifted to him in 1520 on his way to be crowned emperor at Aachen. Keyser Robert de, *Libro de horas del Viaje de Carlos V para ser coronado emperador. Liber trium officiorum ex Salomone secundum usum Caroli Quinti Imperatoris* (*Ms. Escurialensis, vitr. 13*), ed. J.M. Ruiz Asencio et al. (Madrid: 2000) 85, 95.

70 It is based on the seventh 'diseño', dated in 1587 like the rest of the series of eleven curated by Juan de Herrera.

71 Dated 1588, 1602 and 1612. Hernando A., *Contemplar un territorio. Los mapas de España en el Theatrum de Ortelius* (Madrid: 1998) 9, 12.



FIGURE 2.4 Juan Bautista Monegro, Statue of King David (ca. 1581–1583). Marble and gilt bronze, height ca. 4.75 m. The present inscription was put in place in 1660. El Escorial, Monasterio de San Lorenzo El Real
IMAGE © WIKIMEDIA



FIGURE 2.5 Juan Bautista Monegro, Statue of King Solomon (ca. 1581–1583). Marble and gilt bronze, height ca. 4.75 m. The present inscription was put in place in 1660. El Escorial, Monasterio de San Lorenzo El Real
IMAGE © WIKIMEDIA

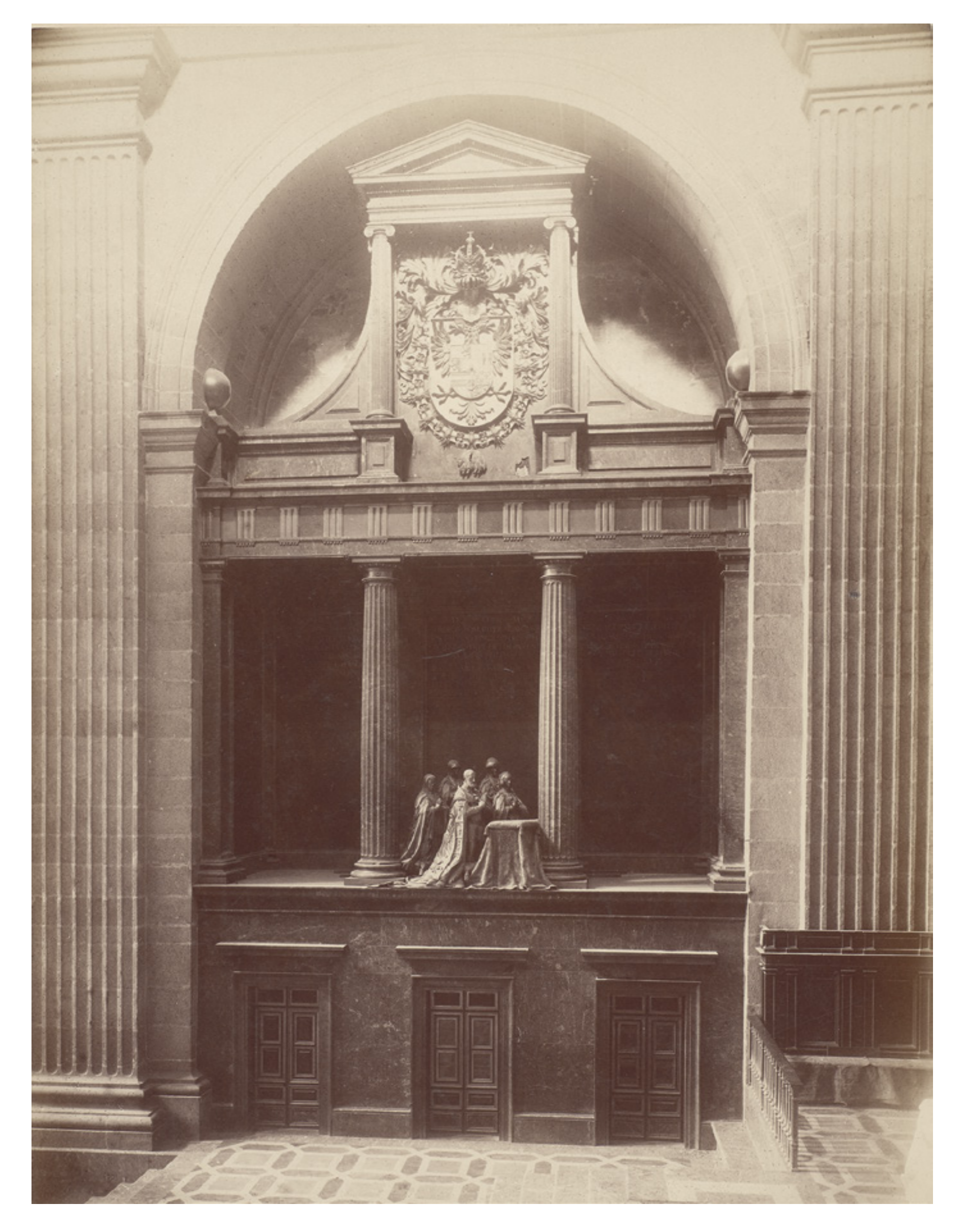


FIGURE 2.6 Jean Laurent: cenotaph of Charles V and his family with statues in gilt bronze by Pompeo Leoni and collaborators, 1592–1598, height 14.84 m (ca. 1870). Albumen print, 335 × 250 mm
IMAGE © BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA, MADRID



FIGURE 2.7 Jean Laurent: cenotaph of Philip II and his family with statues in gilt bronze by Pompeo Leoni and collaborators, 1592–1598, height 14.84 m (ca. 1870). Albumen print, 335 × 250 mm
IMAGE © BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA, MADRID

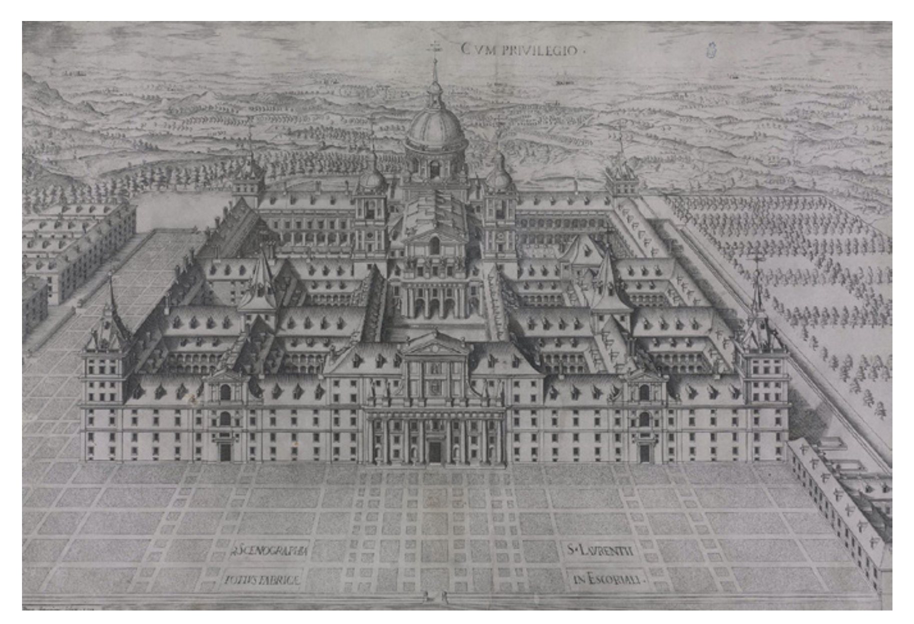


FIGURE 2.8 Pierre Perret (engraver) and Juan de Herrera (designer), Séptimo diseño: *Scenographia totius fabricœ S. Laurentii in Escoriali*. Engraving, 48.4 × 61.4 cm, 1587. From Juan de Herrera, *Sumario y breve declaración de los diseños y estampas de la Fábrica de San Lorencio el Real del Escurial* (Madrid, Viuda de Alonso Gómez: 1589)
IMAGE © BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA, MADRID

The view of the Escorial, whose title runs *Scenographia totius fabricae S. Laurentii in Escorial* [Fig. 2.9], was not part of the *Theatrum* proper but was included for the first time in the edition of 1598 – the year of Philip II's death – in the appended *Parergon* on the geography of antiquity. The latter was left in Latin in most translated editions. John Norton's English edition of 1606 was unusual because both the *Theatre* and the *Parergon* were translated into English. In the latter, as in the Latin original, the Escorial view was listed, alongside plates devoted to the Old Testament and to Greek and Roman Antiquity, as 'the Kings Monastery of Saint Laurence, for Friars of the order of Saint Hierome, in Escuriall in Spaine'.[72] This highly prestigious location within the book was hardly accidental. The plate had been supervised by Philip II who, moreover, had named Ortelius his royal *geographus*.[73] The conferral of this title and the dedication of the princeps edition of the *Orbis* to Philip II were the result of

72 Ortelius Abraham, *The Theatre of the World …* (London: 1606), Parergon.
73 As a token of Philip II's magnificence, Porreño, *Los dichos* 258–259, included Plantin's *Biblia Regia*, published with Arias Montano's assistance. Porreño stated that Philip II bestowed the title of 'su Geographo' on Ortelius to reward the dedication of the *Orbis terrarum*.

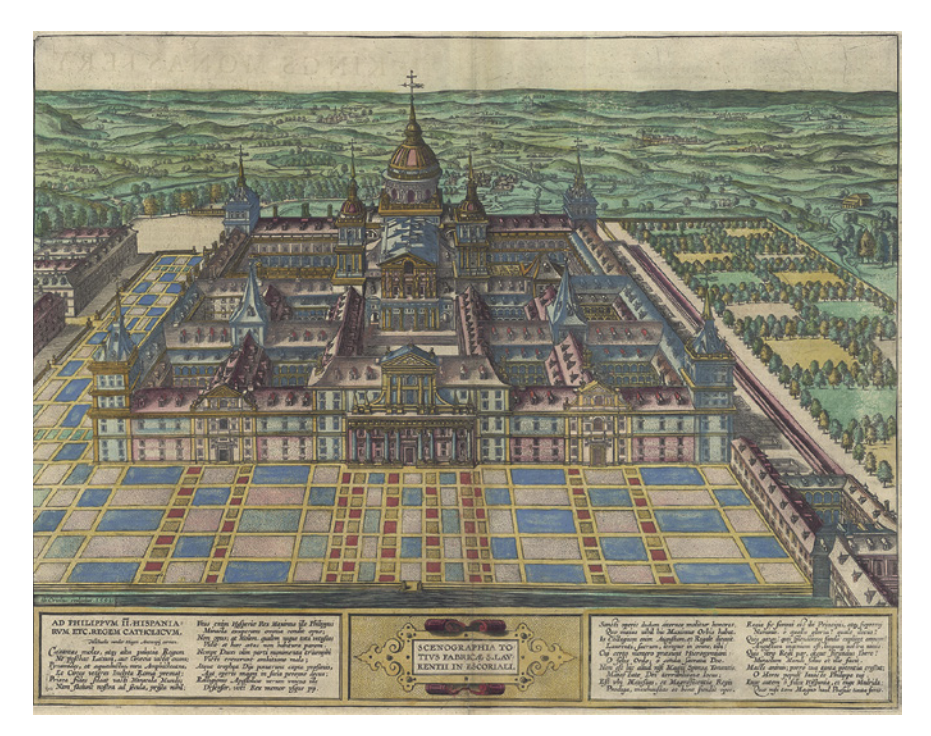


FIGURE 2.9 Anonymous engraver after Pierre Perret, *Scenographia totius fabricæ S. Laurentii in Escoriali*. Engraving, 36.6 × 47.5 cm, 1591. From Abraham Ortelius, *The Theatre of the World* […] (London, John Norton: 1606)
IMAGE © INSTITUTO GEOGRÁFICO NACIONAL, MADRID

the close friendship struck between Benito Arias Montano, who resided in Antwerp from 1568 to 1575, and Ortelius.[74] Knowing that Arias Montano was responsible for the idea of adding statues of biblical kings to the façade of the Escorial basilica, we might conjecture that the prominent placement of the Escorial in his friend Ortelius's *Parergon* stems from a shared agenda: the retrospective cloaking of Philip II's building in the doubly prestigious mantle of biblical and Antique grandeur or *magnificentia*. Whether small or unusually large, the numerous depictions of the Escorial executed not too long after the monastery's completion were expressive of the prestige it sought to earn as the 'eighth wonder' that outmatched the seven from Antiquity. A 1609 play by Lope de Vega with the same title – *octava maravilla* – reflected a by then well-established eulogistic tradition.[75] Remarkable for its size and atmospheric

74 Hernando, *Contemplar* 10–12, 57.

75 Nogués B.M., "La Octava Maravilla o el simbolismo de El Escorial" in Close A.J. – Fernández Vales S.M. (eds.), *Edad de oro cantabrigense: actas del VII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas del Siglo de Oro* (Vigo: 2006) 475–481.



FIGURE 2.10 Jan Wildens (attributed to), *View of the Monastery of El Escorial*, ca. 1620. Oil on canvas, 201.4 × 241.5 cm. Madrid, private collection
IMAGE COURTESY OF © GALERÍA CAYLUS, MADRID

effects, the view now attributed to Jan Wildens strikes us as the best possible pictorial translation of the royal monastery's claim to the sort of superlative magnificence that befitted both the Ancients and Solomon [Fig. 2.10].[76]

The 1591 engraving in Ortelius's *Parergon* was captioned with a laudatory Latin poem penned by Michiel van der Hagen of Antwerp.[77] In it we are told

76 Juan Alonso de Almela referred in 1594 to the Escorial as the "Octava Maravilla" in an oft-quoted manuscript kept at the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid, shelf-marked Ms. 1724. In order to emphasise Philip II's desire to outdo the Ancients Agustín Bustamante entitled his monograph on the Escorial *La octava maravilla* (cf. note 65 above). I am indebted to Alejandro Martínez (Galería Caylus, Madrid) for the current attribution of the large canvas to Jan Wildens, the gifted landscape artist known for his close association and friendship with Rubens.

77 Van der Hagen appears on fol. 21r of Ortelius's *Liber Amicorum*. See Puraye J. et al., *Abraham Ortelius Album Amicorum, reproduit en facsimile* (Amsterdam: 1969). Also available online:

that 'the king, steadfast in his pious yearnings, now with this building finally achieves perpetual homage'. Further down it reads: 'This is the place where the greatness of our generous highness the king distributes his inexhaustible bounties'.[78] Yet the English translation leaves out a critically important word: 'Est ubi Maiestas, et Magnificentia Regis / Prodiga, inexhaustas et bene fundit opes'.[79] It should read instead: 'This is the place where the Generous Majesty and Magnificence of the King rightly distributes his inexhaustible bounties'. Van der Hagen therefore remained safely within the Aristotelian and Thomistic understanding of magnificence as a special virtue materialising in the form of great works for the common good and preferably intended for divine worship. While hasty conclusions ought to be avoided, drawing on the virtue of magnificence as a hermeneutic key to help find common strands between late medieval and early modern patronage should prove rewarding. It may help detect *magnificentia*'s often tacit but unsuspected prevalence. It may also help clarify further its intimate connection to exemplary 'Solomonic' forms of royal piety. Equally important, it should encourage new research into the underlying continuities running from Aquinas to the Counter-Reformation and their role in shaping the normative codes that governed the behaviour of the highest echelons of European society.

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https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-LC-00002-00113/185. Benito Arias Montano's inscription on fol. 17v.

78 The text is available online: http://www.orteliusmaps.com/book/ort233.html.

79 Ortelius Abraham, *Theatro d'el Orbe de la tierra …* (Antwerp: 1611), Parergon.

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CHAPTER 3

Magnificence between Effect of Power and Power of Effect

Michèle-Caroline Heck

In the *Nicomachean Ethics* (Book 4, chapter 2, 2–6) Aristotle defines the concept of magnificence as a virtue, referring to the magnificent man. In this essay, I shall not rely on the first part of the text describing the quality of magnificent men, neither on the requirement for conformity between necessary expenditure and finished work, nor on the price of the work. I shall focus on the end of Aristotle's text, when the philosopher discusses another aspect of magnificence, namely, not the market value but the quality. Drawing a parallel between magnificence, excellence and greatness, he proposes the idea that from an equal expenditure, one can obtain a more magnificent result, if the work is so beautiful as to arouse admiration:

> For the liberal man also will spend what he ought and as he ought; and it is in these matters that the greatness implied in the name of the magnificent man – his bigness, as it were – is manifested, since liberality is concerned with these matters; and at an equal expense he will produce a more magnificent work of art. For a possession and a work of art have not the same excellence. The most valuable possession is that which is worth most, e.g. gold, but the most valuable work of art is that which is great and beautiful (for the contemplation of such a work inspires admiration, and so does magnificence); and a work has an excellence – viz. Magnificence – which involves magnitude (greatness).[1]

When Aristotle refers to the specificity of a work of art whose result must be magnificent, he speaks about producing an effect. In that case, the greatness of a work differs from the greatness of expenditure on it:

> And since each expenditure may be great of its kind, and what is most magnificent absolutely is great expenditure on a great object, but what

1 Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by David Ross, revised by Lesley Brown (Oxford: 2014) book 4, chapter 2, 4.

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> is magnificent here is what is great in these circumstances, and greatness in the work differs from greatness in the expense (for the most beautiful ball or bottle is magnificent as a gift to a child, but the price of it is small and mean), therefore it is characteristic of the magnificent man, whatever kind of result he is producing, to produce it magnificently (for such a result is not easily surpassed) and to make it worthy of the expenditure.[2]

Thus the work of art is at the centre of a double point of view: on one hand the patron or benefactor who wants to manifest in it his magnificence, his greatness, his nobility, and on the other hand the point of view of the spectator in and through whom the work has to create admiration and enthusiasm. It is therefore necessary to try to understand first the means of magnificent expression as an image of power, and secondly the characteristics that make it possible to attribute the quality of magnificence to the work of art itself.

I would like to focus my remarks essentially on the expressions of magnificence in seventeenth-century paintings, bringing them into resonance with contemporary art theory. This can shed new light on the transference of the virtue of magnificence from the commissioner (the king, the prince) to the artist, but also to the work of art. Moreover, the study of seventeenth-century texts about art highlights an extremely interesting lexical network of magnificence, *magnificency*, *Herrlichkeit*, that includes notions such as majesty, *Majestät*, *Pracht*, greatness, *grootsheid*, *grandeur*, nobility, *Adel*, noblesse, and the sublime, to name only the most important ones. Although often close to each other, the notions reveal interesting nuances. Whereas we will see that they fluctuate according to the authors, and it is difficult to clarify the differences, they allow us to broaden the concept of magnificence by raising two fundamental questions: Does magnificence only manifest itself through the subject, and who are the actors in the staging of the magnificence? We will see how three different aspects in the setting up of the expression of magnificence contribute together to the desired effect: firstly the use of a work of art as affirmation of power of a magnificent man or institution, secondly the role of the magnificent artist, and thirdly the power the magnificent painting exercises on the spectator.

2 Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics* book 4, chapter 2, 5.

1 Magnificence and Staging the Affirmation of Power

As the catalogue of the exhibition *1620–1680 Baroque: Style in the Age of Magnificence* clearly shows, both the Catholic Church and secular monarchs used the staging of magnificence to assert and maintain their power and influence, by creating total artworks where the effects were intensified through the juxtaposition of luxurious objects.[3] And as the exhibition obviously demonstrates, theatrical performance made an impression not only by displaying liturgical or decorative works; in many cases it also involved movement, of opposition between shadow and light, of colour in the spatial staging, all of which produced the desired effect of overall unity. Visual effect was produced by the association of architecture, sculpture, painting, and the decorative arts in baroque churches and palaces. A similarly intensified expression of the magnificence of a prince or a king could be obtained by other means. Painted cycles consisting of multiple components among which the spectator was expected to move, such as the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* or the *Galerie Médicis*, both painted by Rubens, or the *Galerie des Glaces* at Versailles, are very illuminating in this respect.

The tradition of triumphal entries as ephemeral spectacles, built to be wondered at and then dismantled, culminated in Antwerp in festival apparatus designed to welcome the Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand of Spain on 17 April 1635. The sketches for the arches and stages of the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* through which the procession made its way, were executed in 1634 by Rubens (1577–1640), according to the program established by Caspar Gevaertius (1593–1666) and Nicolas Rockox (1560–1640).[4] Some elements of the entry were essential to producing the impression of magnificence characteristic of that celebration. The political importance of the event was reinforced by the constant use of allegory and the many references to Antiquity. Thus Ferdinand's triumphal arch copied the model of the ancient triumphal arch, with Ferdinand's military achievements highlighted, especially the battle of Nördlingen (5–6 September 1634).[5] But most important, in our view, was the conception of the joyous entry as a performance in which the actor, the Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand, and the spectator participate in a dynamic way. In accordance with

3 Snodin M. – Llewellyn N. et al. (eds.), *1620–1800 Baroque. Style in the Age of Magnificence*, exh. cat., Victoria and Albert Museum (London: 2009).

4 Knaap A.C. – Putnam M.C.J., *Art, Music and Spectacle in the Age of Rubens: The* Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi (London – Turnhout: 2013), more precisely Fehrenbach F., "The unmoved Mover" 117–142 and Van Eck C., "Animation in Rubens' *Pompa Introitus*" 143–165.

5 Peter Paul Rubens, *Reverse of Ferdinand's Triumphal Arch* (1634). Oil on panel, 104 × 72,5 cm. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum (inv. no. GZ-503).

the ancient tradition, the person being honoured enhances his power and authority by moving from one decoration to the next as he travels through the city, stopping to observe each of the ephemeral but grandiose stages punctuating his route. The magnificence becomes fully efficacious when the spectator, gazing at the brightly coloured arches populated by dynamic and lively figures, attends the live event, seeing how the procession interacts with the massive decorations, how the Infant and his entourage stop before some, march by or through others.

A second example painted by Rubens is the *Galerie Médicis* (twenty-four paintings for the Galerie du Palais du Luxembourg in Paris, now in the Louvre) commissioned by Marie de Médicis upon her return from exile after her reconciliation with her son Louis XIII.[6] The Queen participated in the conception of the program set by Richelieu (1585–1642) and Peiresc (1580–1637). The historical scenes are based on specific historical facts; therefore, the great moments of the Regency are treated with a mixture of truth and allegory. The political significance of the cycle is obvious, but its allegorical character – the Olympian gods participating in the life of the Queen and the King – allows for a reassessment of Rubens's conception of history painting. His double approach, both historical and allegorical, exemplifies a practice of pictorial expression described by Giovanni Andrea Gilio in the *Dialogo degli errori de Pittori* (1564), which defines three types of painting: the purely historical, the purely poetic or fictive, and the *pittura mista*.[7] The latter, which combines truth and fiction, is a way of telling the story by means of heightened heroism in action and gesture.[8]

In one of the first paintings of the cycle, the *Presentation of the Portrait of Marie to Henry IV*, the portrait is shown to the King by Cupids and Hymen.[9] However, the portrait of Marie looks at the spectator, inviting the viewer fully to engage with the different episodes of her life shown throughout the cycle, to read her story as it were. Two characteristics of the cycle are of particular interest. On the one hand, the use of allegory to express power by going beyond

6 Thuillier J., *Rubens : la Galerie Médicis au Palais du Luxembourg* (Milan: 1969); Wehlen B., *Antrieb und Entschluss zu dem was geschieht: Studien zur Medici-Galerie von Peter Paul Rubens* (Munich: 2008).

7 Vries L. de, "Rubens' Medicis cycle: Italian art theory and Flemisch Painting", in Heck M.C. (ed.), *Le Rubénisme en Europe aux XVIIème et XVIIIème siècles* (Turnhout: 2006) 147–158.

8 It is with the term of heroic that Roger de Piles describes this cycle in his *Conversations sur la connoisssance de la peinture, et sur le jugement qu'on doit faire des tableaux. Où par occasion il est parlé de la vie de Rubens, & de quelques-uns de ses plus beaux ouvrages* (Paris, Nicolas Langlois: 1677).

9 Peter Paul Rubens, *Presentation of the portrait of Marie to Henry IV* (1621–1625). Oil on canvas, 394 × 295 cm. Paris, Louvre Museum (inv. no. 1772).

the historical fact and reinforcing the impression of magnificence: the Queen becomes a heroine, actual events potentially damaging to Marie's image are elided or ignored. On the other hand, the arrangement of the paintings in a cycle invites the spectator move consecutively through the series, guided by Marie de Medicis's recurring gaze. The pictorial means – *clair-obscur* and contrasts of light and shadow, placement of colours, and movements among the picture's constituent parts – serve to heighten the splendour and ostentation of the heroine of the story, even as selected contemporary events are hidden from view. So conspicuous are these devices, that they themselves, as expressions of magnificence, can be seen to apply not only to the cycle's ostensible subject – Marie – but also to the cycle's painter – Rubens. The painter plays a crucial role: it is also his art, the truth of its magnificence, which the series can be seen to adduce.

A third example, the décor of the Galerie des Glaces in Versailles, allows us further to define the expression of magnificence in historical narratives that function to legitimate power. The King's glory is conspicuously staged by Charles Le Brun (1619–1690): the centrepiece, *The King Alone Governs in Peace*, is the key to reading the whole iconography; it deals with the history of the King after the negotiation Peace of the Pyrenees (7 November 1659). The paintings as a whole reveal the causes and implications of the Dutch War, and demonstrate Louis XIV's ability personally to conduct his foreign policy on the battlefield, and simultaneously to execute his domestic policy on the home front.

However, we can broaden this focus on the historical narrative. Recent research both in Germany and in France has clarified that the decorations are based on a rhetorical model that helped to make the series more effective. Le Brun conceived the painting of the ceiling of the Galerie des Glaces lexically and discursively.[10] Each colour has a precise meaning (red, for instance, is the colour of courage, force, and, in a negative significance, of ambition). Each attitude is codified according to a defined scheme, even if the disposition of the figures accords more with an epideictic dynamic, than with the logic of the

10 Germer S., *Kunst, Macht, Diskurs. Die intellektuelle Karriere im Frankreich des XVIIten Jhdts* (Munich: 1997); Held J., *Französische Kunsttheorie des 17. Jhts und der absolutistische Staat. Le Brun und die ersten acht Vorlesungen an der königlichen Akademie* (Berlin: 2001); Kirchner T., *Der epische Held. Historienmalerei und Kunstpolitik im Frankreich des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: 2001); Grell C. – Michel C. (eds.), *L'école des princes. Ou Alexandre disgracié. Essai sur la mythologie monarchique*, (Paris, 1988); Maral A. – Milovanovic N. (eds.), *Louis XIV. L'homme & le Roi*, exh. cat., Château de Versailles (Paris: 2009); Maral A. – Milovanovic N. (eds.), *La Galerie des Glaces. Charles Le Brun maître d'œuvre*, exh. cat., Château de Versailles (Paris: 2007).

narrative. Hence, the program aims to glorify more than to justify or persuade.[11] But the Galerie des Glaces, easier to see as a whole than in its individual parts, was designed above all to impress the public, showing the King's power. The cycle describes the history of the reign, but the scenes are not placed in chronological order, but in an hierarchical order. To clarify the reading of the subject, Le Brun uses another kind of sign system or coded language: inscriptions describing the scenes enriching their symbolic meaning, and yet, though precisely matched with each painting, these texts are not easy to read.[12] Because Le Brun relies so much on allegory, the Gallery operates in multiple discursive registers: various rhetorical codes combine with poetic devices, defending the King's policies, like an apology, but also glorifying him. Jacques Cassagne, in his *Poème sur la guerre de Hollande* (1672), clearly explains the different kind of languages Le Brun used: the common language that narrates the events, the eloquent figurative language of allegory that elaborates upon the meaning of these events, and the poetic language that converts facts into affective images.[13] The poetic dimension involves the comparison between the painting and poetry, the former conveyed considering as silent poetry, the latter as eloquent painting.

The ideological construction of propaganda by pictorial means attests the apologetic function of painting. Much as the impressive and sumptuous silver furniture adorning the gallery testified to the financial power of the King, so the painting of the ceiling served ostentatiously to proclaim the King's splendour.[14] Painting, analogously to wealth, thus contributes to the expression of magnificence.

2 The Artist as an Agent of the Expression of Magnificence and the Effect of Painting

The same aims underpin the discourse on painting developed in the seventeenth century north of the Alps. These theoretical writings describe the

11 Burke P., *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: 1992); Milovanovic N., *Du Louvre à Versailles. Lecture des grands décors monarchiques* (Paris: 2005).

12 The first inscriptions were written by Paul Tallemant, a member of the Académie française and of the Petite Académie, who worked closely with Le Brun to set up the iconography. But written in Latin, they were highly criticized and were replaced in 1684 by inscriptions in French written by Racine.

13 Cassagne J., *Poème sur la Guerre de Hollande* (Paris: Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1672) 40.

14 Saule B., *Quand Versailles était meublé d'argent*, exh. cat., Château de Versailles (Paris: 2007).

practice of painting, explaining how to paint a picture, but they also discuss how to create effects – rhetorical, poetic, affect – and their impact on the viewer. In this sense they are an important source for understanding how the power of the works was appreciated and understood. Linking art with the production of greatness and beauty, Aristotle defines a magnificent work of art by its capacity to inspire admiration.

> But the most valuable work of art is that which is great and beautiful (for the contemplation of such a work inspires admiration, and so does magnificence); and a work has an excellence – viz. Magnificence – which involves magnitude (greatness).[15]

Different properties constitutive of a magnificent work are widely emphasised in the treatises on art. The first point to underline is that magnificence, in the sense of excellence combining beauty and greatness with the purpose of producing an effect on the spectator, cannot be achieved without genius. The scope of the concept of genius is twofold. On one hand it concerns the ability of an artist to conceive his painting in thought and imagination – invention and (virtual) drawing, and, for the defenders of Rubens's painting, also colouring – before realizing it on canvas. And on the other hand it involves the ability to adapt manner to subject, and thus to harmonize form and content. Aglionby emphasises that this applies both to the painter and the poet: there is genius in the conceiving, as also in the adapting of style to subject:

> [...] and is indeed the most difficult part of it, as depending intirely upon the Spirit and Genius of the Painter, who can express things no otherwise than as he conceives them, and from thence come the different Manners; or, as one may call them, Stiles of Painting; some Soft and Pleasing, others Terrible and Fierce, others Majestick, other Low and Humble, as we see in the STILE of POETS;[...][16]

These ideas were commonplace, of course. Years later, in a synthesis of all these approaches, the comte de Buffon (1707–1788) highlighted very clearly the

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15 Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by David Ross, revised by Lesley Brown (Oxford: 2014) book 4, chapter 2, 4.

16 Aglionby William, *Painting illustrated in three diallogues: containing some choice observations upon the art, together with the lives of the most eminent painters, from Cimabue, to the time of Raphael and Michel Angelo: with an explanation of the difficult terms*, (London, John Gain: 1685) 121–122.

rhetorical link between idea and pictorial means in his *Discourse on Style*, delivered on 25 August 1753 at the *Académie française*:

> Si l'on s'est élevé aux idées les plus générales, et si l'objet en lui-même est grand, le ton paroîtra s'élever à la même hauteur ; et si en le soutenant à cette élévation, le génie fournit assez pour donner à chaque objet une forte lumière, si l'on peut ajouter la beauté du coloris à l'énergie du dessein, si l'on peut, en un mot, représenter chaque idée par une image vive et bien terminée, et former, de chaque suite d'idées, un tableau harmonieux et mouvant, le ton sera non-seulement élevé, mais sublime.[17]

> If we have raised ourselves to the most general ideas, and if the object itself is large, the tone will seem to rise to the same height; and if by supporting it at this elevation, the genius provides enough to give each object a strong light, if the beauty of colour can be added to the energy of the design, if each idea can be represented in a word by a bright and well-finished image, and if a harmonious and moving picture can be formed of each sequence of ideas, the tone will not only be elevated, but sublime.

To give the necessary elevation or greatness to a work so that it produces the impression of magnificence, Buffon evokes how light, colour and drawing are marshalled to produce a living image, and, through their proper deployment, a harmonious painting. These characteristics, resulting from genius, produce an experience of the high, the sublime, and contribute to the expression of magnificence. The ability to adapt the manner to the subject, making the work excellently decorous, identified as fundamental to this theory of art, effectively places the artist at the centre of the notion of magnificence.

There are different ways to express magnificence. As examples, we can compare some portraits of Van Dyck (1599–1641). Some of them epitomize the tradition of Flemish half-figure portraits, adapted to the expectations of the bourgeoisie, with an emphasis on faithful representation, and warm colours. Others were painted during his stay in Genoa, where he adapted his style, his forms and colours, to patrician ideals of grandeur. A third style, characteristic of his stay in England, combines splendour, idealization, and familiarity,

17 Buffon comte de, *Discours de réception: Sur le style, prononcé à l'Académie française le 25 Août 1753*, available from http://www.academie-francaise.fr/discours-de-reception-du-comte-de-buffon (accessed 5.09.2019). Translation by the author.

and sets the figures in landscape.[18] These examples show how diverse the expression of magnificence could be, and raise questions about how and why these precise means were considered efficacious; what nature and quality were they thought to possess. By 'means' I am referring both to the telling of the story through invention and drawn disposition, and to pictorial effects – often colouristic – that are discernible as pictorial effects complementary to, but also independent of, the story-telling function. There are two ways of reading a painting and being touched by it: by way of the story and by way of the pictorial effects.

The notion of invention is linked to the painter's ability to conceive beautiful ideas, but the same concept also comprises disposition, the arrangement of the history's component parts. How can a story be made to express magnificence? Certainly the impression of magnificence springs from images expressive of elevated conceptions. But the theoretical discourse also focuses on the required qualities of a composition. In order to express magnificence in a picture, stresses Junius (1589/1591–1677), invention is essential: '[…] foure things are to be observed in the Invention: namely, Truth, Opportunity, Discretion; and ariseth out of these three, Magnificence'.[19]

Opportunity for the theorist is a 'convenient decency agreeing with the circumstances'. The discretion he speaks about is the modesty of the artist, and also the ability 'to leave out-the picture' misbecoming things.[20]

> Magnificence doth shew in a well conceived invention, and there is added a wonderfull great authoritie […]: for as the whole Art of painting is not much worth, unless it be accompagned with much gravity and does contain all such kind of things as are such full of grace and dignity […].[21]

For Junius, magnificence also named stateliness, links grace and dignity (*granditas*).[22] Therefore it is necessary to privilege remarkable things that

18 Merle du Bourg A., *Antoon van Dyck: Portraits* (Bruxelles: 2008); Vlieghe H. (ed.), *Van Dyck 1599–1999: Conjectures and Refutations* (Turnhout: 2001).

19 Junius Franciscus, *The Painting of the Ancients in Three Bookes : declaring by Historicall Observations and Examples, the Beginning, Progresse, and Consummation of that most Noble Art. And how those Ancient Artificers attained to their still so much admired Excellencie. Written first in latine by Franciscus Junius, F. F. And now by him englished, with some Additions and Alterations* (London, Richard Hodgkinsonne: 1638) book 3, chapter 1, 12.

20 Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients* book 3, chapter 1, 14.

21 Junius, Ibidem, 15.

22 In the Dutch edition, *magnificentie* is also named stateliness (*statelickheyd*). Junius Franciscus, *De Schilder-konst der Oude, Begrepen in drie Boecken* (Middelburg, Zacharias Roman: 1641) book 3, chapter 1, 15.

deserve more admiration than things of little interest.[23] This idea, shared by many theorists in France, the Netherlands and England, underlies their accounts of the magnitude of the subject or the history, and the way in which the action should be represented.[24] But other qualities are also mentioned, which are directly related to pictorial qualities. Some insist on the importance of the beauty of proportions and the suitability of actions and expressions.[25]

The question of ornament also becomes an important issue. For the expression of magnificence, Junius rejects useless objects and eschews affectation. Gerard de Lairesse (1641–1711) insists on convenience, i.e., apt comportment, and raises as well the issue of ornamentation. These essential pictorial qualities, which contribute to lustre, greatness and nobility of the work of art, can also be achieved through simplicity.

> He who duely weighs what I have been saying, must allow, that State [*deftigheid* in the Dutch edition, *décence* in the French] and Carriage [*welgemanierdheid* in the Dutch edition, *convenance* in the French] are two such excellent Qualifications, that a Picture can't be said to be good without them; nay, I think them the very Soul of a good Picture: But as a noble Soul, in a well-shaped Body, without the Addition of Ornament, visibly shews itself, so of course, such are needeless in expressing true Greatness: Indeed, when ornaments are introduced with Judgement and Caution, they add the Splendor of a Picture, but nothing to Character, nor can cause any passions; as we see in Raphael, Poussin, Dominichino and Barocci, who, far from approving it, have, by the very Simplicity of their Figures, shewn the extraordinary Greatness I have speaking of.[26]

23 Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients* book 3, chapter 2, 224.

24 Félibien André, *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes. Troisième partie* (Paris, Jean-Baptiste Coignard: 1679) *5ème Entretien*, 111; Testelin Henry, *Sentimens des plus habiles peintres du tems, sur la pratique de la peinture et sculpture, Recueillis & mis en Tables de Preceptes. Avec six discours academiques*, (The Hague, Matthieu Rogguet: [1693 ou 1694]) *Conférence de 1672,* 15, and *Conférence de 1673,* 20–21.

25 Brown Alexander, *Ars Pictoria: or an Academy Treating of Drawing, Painting, Limning, Etching. The Second Edition, Corrected and Enlarged by the Author* (London, Arthur Tooker – William Battersby: 1675) 1–2; Félibien, *5ème Entretien* 111.

26 Lairesse Gerard de, *The Art of Painting, in all its Branches : Methodically Demonstrated by Discourses and Plates, and Exemplified by Remarks on the Paintings of the Best Masters, and their Perfections and Oversights Laid Open, translated by John Frederick Fritsch* (London, J.F. Fritsch: 1738) vol. 1, chapter 5 [English edition of *Groot Schilderboek , Waar in de Schilderkonst in al haar deelen Grondig werd onderweezen, ook door Redeneeringen en Printverbeeldingen verklaard; Met Voorbeelden uyt de beste Konst-stukken der Oude en Nieuwe Puyk-Schilderen, bevestigd: En derzelver Wel- en Mistand aangeweezen* (Amsterdam,

Undoubtedly this apparent opposition resolves into the notion of *diversitas*, which can be expressed either through ornament or simplicity. The painters mentioned by Lairesse are significant, and their works prove how much convenience and greatness, in addition to ornament, are linked. It is not only necessary to show the magnificence overtly. The challenge for the painter is more to reveal this quality to the mind and eye of the spectator without disturbing or concealing through exaggeration the inherently noble characteristics of the represented event. In his translation of Longius, Boileau (1636–1711) addresses the same the question of *diversitas* with regard to the multiplication of words, called 'amplification'.[27]

Different qualities in a history have to be considered: the elevation of the subject, the expression of passion, the nobility and elegance of the figures, the composition that produces an effect of greatness, the qualities of magnificence and dignity. For Boileau as well, magnificence expressed through history overlaps with the attributes of nobility, grandeur and even sublimity.[28] The power of works of visual art, like that of words, is to seize the soul or the reason, to elevate the mind. Magnificence, then, is close to the notion of the sublime, a quality no one can resist, and to which Boileau no longer associates nobility, but rather greatness and that which arouses wonderful.[29] These ideas were eagerly used for paintings. This leads me to ask how painters tried to create such effect, not verbally but visually.

At the same time, in other art theoretical texts, such as De Piles' (1635–1709), several points of articulation contribute to a paradigm shift in the conception of greatness as an expression of magnificence. Indeed, not only history and composition were appreciated as sources of magnificence, but also colours. Some theorists speak about the magnificent harmony of colours, comparable to music without false notes. Viewed in this way, the whole of a painting must be considered: the effect produced by the colours is as essential as the story being told.[30] Visual effect and history are thought to be inextricable because the statement of the subject and the pleasure of the eye jointly require a clear

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Hendrick Desbordes: 1712)] French edition: *Le Grand Livre des Peintres ou l'Art de la peinture* (Paris, Hôtel du Thou: 1787).

27 Boileau Nicolas, *« Traité du sublime ou du merveilleux dans le discours. Traduit du Grec de Longin », Œuvres diverses du Sieur D*** avec le traité du sublime ou du merveilleux dans le discours. Traduit du Grec de Longin* (Paris, Denys Thierry: 1674) chapter 10, 30.

28 Boileau, *Traité du sublime* chapter 6, 16–17. This conception of painting is still to be found in Richardson's *Two Discourses. An Essay on the whole Art of Criticism as it relates to Painting. Shewing how to judge I. of the Goodness of a Picture* (London: 1719) 35–36.

29 Boileau, *Traité du sublime* chapter 5, 14–15.

30 Lichtenstein J., *La Couleur éloquente: Rhétorique et peinture à l'âge classique* (Paris: 1999).

pictorial structure, bound up with the use of colours conceived in relationship with light. Colour and light play a central and active role in the unified perception of the painting. The combination of light and shadow, brilliant and dusky colours, creates an impression of a whole, active in its mutually contingent visual effects that also convey the narrative flow of the story. Roger de Piles describes another trick in his descriptions of Rubens's paintings. Even in large compositions, such as the *Massacre of the Innocents*[31] with more than sixty figures, the eye of the spectator is neither embarrassed or disturbed, because the painter has assembled them with so much industry, that the eye naturally distinguishes among three groups, and, thanks to the force and the brilliance of the colours, is drawn toward the most important group at the painting's centre.[32]

Several elements in this account can be highlighted. First, the effect results from the agreement, the harmony between the parts and the whole, and from the construction of a unified space, what theorists of painting call the 'whole-together'. Secondly, the artist achieves this effect through a device or artifice directly derived from his power of conception, his thoughts. One of the explicit conditions for achieving this, is the painter's ability to conceive, to think about the history as composition, and also as colours. One is struck by the connection with Longinus/Boileau's description of how to produce a sublime effect in speech, as when he talks about linking together the constituent elements into a single body.[33] Or when Longinus's translator, evoking the brilliance of sublime rhetorical figures, compares them to painting, explaining that what is luminous, bright, touches us more, because of that very brilliance.[34]

One last point is worth making. Beyond the subject of a painting, which must be readable, the painting should also carry within it something else, something indefinable, great, sharp, extraordinary, able to surprise – a property that enables the painter to make things appear sublime, wonderful, and believable or *vraisemblable*.[35] And instead of being readable as a discrete element in the history, the device creating the sublime effect has to be hidden, according to De Piles. This corresponds to another paradigm shift: the true (or truth) embedded in history is replaced by the plausible, the *vraisemblable* (more true than mere truth), effective as a pictorial effect constitutive of the purpose of painting, which is not simply to convince, but to deceive the eyes. The secret

31 Peter Paul Rubens, *Massacre of the Innocents* (c. 1637). Oil on panel, 198 × 302 cm. Munich, Alte Pinakothek (inv. no. 572).

32 Piles, *Conversations. Deuxième conversation* 112–113.

33 Boileau, *Traité du sublime* chapter 8, 25.

34 Boileau, Ibidem, chapter 15, 44–46.

35 Piles, *Conversation sur la peinture. Deuxième Conversation* 307–308.

lies in the exaggeration of colour and light that makes painted objects appear more real than the real ones themselves.[36] This hidden trick produces a profound effect on the spectator. We might draw a parallel with the conception of Longinus/Boileau, who, speaking of the harmony of discourse that strikes the mind, brings closer together the categories of the great and the wonderful.

3 The Power of the Painting over the Spectator: Catching the Eye

This effect for De Piles does not correspond to a rejection of the subject. Rather, his conception of a new pictorial order corresponds to a notion of painting that converts the spectator into an essential actor. The painting carries in itself a power of attraction, a very strong force: it attracts the eye, to forcing us to look attentively, calling us, to the point where we can't help but approach. 'Le Tableau doit attirer l'oeil & le forcer, pour ainsi dire à le regarder. Puisqu'il est fait pour les yeux, il doit plaire à tout le monde, aux uns plus, aux autres moins, selon la connoissance de ceux qui le voyent'. – '[…] the Painting should attract the eye & force it, so to speak, to look at it. Since it is made for the eyes, it must please everyone, some more, others less, according to the connoisseurship of those who see it'.[37] Is that not the purpose of the expression of magnificence? Focusing reflexively on their pictorial means, painters perforce pose this rhetorical question.

The painting captures the senses and more particularly the eyes. Art theoreticians like De Piles outline a true description of the physiology of visual reception: they describe the link between vision and understanding, illuminating in a quite astonishing way how the reception of a painting turns on receiving an impression, and how this impression is imprinted on the spectator's mind. Of course, in previous centuries, art theoreticians had already established the link between vision and understanding in relation to perspective, measurement, and proportion, as applied to history. But here we are speaking about something different. The painting affects the understanding by inducing a perfect sensation, created by the visual unity of the painting as a whole. However, says De Piles, this subordination, which subsumes the different objects portrayed into one object – the portrayal itself – is based on two things: first the satisfaction of the eyes, and second the effect produced by vision.[38] Thanks to

36 Piles Roger De, *Dialogue sur le coloris* (Paris, Nicolas Langlois: 1699) 59–61.

37 Piles Roger de, *Cours de peinture par principes* (Paris, Jacques Estienne: 1708) 4. Translation by the author.

38 Piles, *Cours de peinture* 106.

it, the spectator suddenly and despite himself, lets himself be swept away by an enthusiasm commensurate with the degree to which the painter has attracted him.[39] This sensitivity of response, as we have seen, continues to touch or speak to the understanding. It thus induces a different link between eye and mind, and provokes a powerful experience of splendour that reinforces the impression of magnificence. To describe the inner movement at the heart of this process, De Piles uses the term enthusiasm, common to the painter who produces a painting in a sublime, surprising and a *vraisemblable* manner, and to the spectator. The account culminates in a comparison between sublimity and enthusiasm. The latter, which exercises its powerful effect in and through thought and the whole-together of the work, is compared to a fury that elevates our soul, even beyond the sublime: Its strength lies in its readiness to capture us, whereas the sublime effect requires more time for reflection. This leads him to conclude that enthusiasm grasps or seizes us, whereas we grasp or seize the sublime.[40] These two *tempi* of the gaze are not opposed but are, on the contrary, shared between painter who conceives the painting and the viewer who looks at it, as a link unifying the story and the pictorial effect; together they generate admiration, which issues from magnificence. Here we circle back to Aristotle's text, and to the effect of magnificence as he expressed it.

4 Closing Remarks

The work of art and, more precisely, the painting, had a specific role in the expression of magnificence in the seventeenth century. By showing magnificence as the active, heroic virtue of a magnificent King or Queen, painting demonstrates at the same time the magnificence of the painter. Through it a link is forged: the magnificent patron and the magnificent artist are shown to share a common purpose; the aim is to awake in the spectator's mind a dual impression of magnificence – of the painted model and of the painting's author. This entirely accords with a new image of the artist. Rubens uses the same means as powerful or noble men or even a prince to show his own quality as magnificent painter. Breaking with the tradition of artists's houses in Antwerp, his palace in Antwerp, built on the Wapper, can be considered in this context.[41] In its

39 Piles, *Cours de peinture* 115.

40 Piles, Ibidem, 114–117.

41 King C., "Artists' Houses: Mass-Advertising Artistic Status and Theory in Antwerp c.1565", in Heck M.-C. – Lemerle F. – Pauwels Y., *Théorie et création artistique dans l'Europe du Nord du XVIe au début du XVIIIe siècle* (Lille: 2002) 173–189.

decorations, Rubens abandons the traditional representation of the nobility of painting, and, instead, emphasises his own status as a great painter, equal to the greatest ancient painters, by representing on the façades reconstructions of paintings from Antiquity. Le Brun also presents himself as a magnificent man, in a social and public way: not only is he *Premier Peintre du Roi*, but also Director of the *Academie royale de peinture et de sculpture*, of the *Manufacture royale des Gobelins*, of the *Mobilier royal*. His power extends to all artistic fields and dominates all aspects of artistic life.[42]

In order to express the magnificence of both the painted model and the painter, the latter has to obtain magnificence in the work itself, with the aim of awakening in the spectator's mind an impression of magnificence anchored in both the subject and the maker of the painting. And to this end, different qualities, such as nobility, greatness, excellence, even splendour, all difficult to define precisely, are brought into mutual association, in order to reveal the magnificence of painting; this shows the plasticity, the permeability and the variability of the concept, its applicability to a variety of contexts. These qualities, mutually similar and yet ultimately different, are variously adapted to the idea and to the expression of the power of magnificence. If we consider magnificence as a performance, the aim of that virtue, as well as the aim of the painting that displays it, is to attract the eye of the spectator and arouse admiration for the performative act of painting; the spectator who discerns magnificence thus participates as a third actor. Accordingly, the major quality of a magnificent painting is to be lively, both through its history and composition, and through its colour, light and movement. Between the expression of the subject and the visual impact of the language of painting, the texts and images I have been discussing draw their power from analogies of thought implicitly shared by art artists and rhetoricians. Like the theorists who adduced these analogies, artists, too, explored them in works painted in a magnificent style.

42 Burchard W., *The sovereign artist: Charles Le Brun and the image of Louis XIV* (London: 2016).

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General des Finances, Surintendant & Ordonnateur des Bâtiments du Roi, Jardins, Arts & Manufactures de France, protecteur de ladite Academie, assemblée generalement en des jours solemnels pour la delivrance du Prix Royal, par Henry Testelin, Peintre du Roi, Professeur & Secretaire en ladite Academie (The Hague, Matthieu Rogguet: [1693 ou 1694]).

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PART 2

The Court and Aristocracy

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CHAPTER 4

The Hall of Realms, a Space for Royal Magnificence

Miguel Hermoso Cuesta

The Buen Retiro Palace has been one of the most studied buildings of the late Habsburgs in Spain since the publication of the book *A Palace for a King* by Brown and Elliott in 1980.[1] The palace, originally planned as an extension of the royal apartments at the San Jerónimo monastery, was built between 1630 and 1636[2] [Fig. 4.1]. Its decoration, which included an enormous quantity of artworks, started in 1633,[3] and eventually encompassed examples of the best European painting of the age.

The most important of the rooms within the palace (as well as the best studied) was the Hall of Realms. My intention in this text is to reconsider the ideas



FIGURE 4.1 Jusepe Leonardo (attr.), *View of the Palace and Gardens of the Buen Retiro* (1637). Oil on canvas, Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional
IMAGE © WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

1 Brown J. – Elliott J.H., *A Palace for a King. The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV*, (New Haven: 1980; reprint, Madrid: 2016), Úbeda de los Cobos A. (ed.), *El palacio del Rey Planeta, Felipe IV y el Buen Retiro*, exh. cat., Museo Nacional del Prado (Madrid: 2005), Marías F., *Imágenes políticas. Repensando el Salón de Reinos*, (Madrid: 2012), Simal López M., "El Real Sitio del Buen Retiro y sus colecciones durante el reinado de Felipe IV", in Martínez Millán J. – Rivero Rodríguez M. (eds.), *La Corte de Felipe IV (1621–1665). Reconfiguración de la Monarquía Hispánica*, vol. 3/4, (Madrid: 2017) 2339–2566.

2 Simal, "El Real Sitio del Buen Retiro" 2341–2354.

3 Ibidem, 2365–24181.

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generally accepted in relation to this space, especially those pertaining to its iconography and political purpose, and to study it as a total work of art that integrated from its conception painting, sculpture, textiles and literature. I also want to propose that it is a unique example of royal magnificence perfectly fitting the definition given by Cesare Ripa in the 17th century:

> La Magnificenza è una virtù, laquale consiste intorno all'operar cose grandi, e d'importanza [...] l'effetto della Magnificenza è l'edificar tempij, palazzi, & altre cose di maraviglia, e che riguardano ò l'utile publico, ò l'honor dello stato, dell'imperio, e molto più della Religione, & non ha luogo quest'habito se non ne Principi grandi.[4]

> Magnificence is a virtue that consists in creating great and important things [...] the consequence of Magnificence is to build temples, palaces and other wonderful things that are related to the public utility or to the honour of the State, the Empire and above all of the Religion, and this is a quality of the greatest princes.

The Hall of Realms was so named because of the coats of arms of the different kingdoms of the monarchy depicted on the ceiling. It was also known as the *Salón Grande* and the Golden Hall for the decoration of gilded grotesques by Pedro Martín Ledesma that covered the ceiling and walls, an effect enhanced by the gilded frames for the large battle paintings that were displayed on the lateral walls, according to the description of 1656 by Baccio del Bianco.[5]

The rectangular hall occupied the centre of the north facade of the palace, the furthest point from the king's quarters adjacent to the San Jerónimo monastery. The room was flanked on one side by the guard room, decorated with a series of portraits of the Visigothic kings,[6] and on the other side by the Room of Masquerades, decorated with portraits of the kings of Navarre and Aragon which connected with the east wing of the building where the *Coliseo* and *Casón* were added later.[7] This reflected the programmatic design of this part of the palace, where the sequence of rooms becomes increasingly magnificent,

4 Ripa Cesare, *Della novissima iconologia di Cesare Ripa Perugino* [...] (Padua, Pietro Paolo Tozzi: 1625) 405–406.

5 Simal, "El Real Sitio del Buen Retiro" 2485 and Brown – Elliott, *A Palace for a King* 208.

6 Simal, "El Real Sitio del Buen Retiro" 2475–2476.

7 Morte García C., "Pintura y sociedad en la época de los Austrias: Los retratos de los reyes de Sobrarbe, condes antiguos y reyes de Aragón para la Diputación de Zaragoza (1586), y las copias de 1634 para el Buen Retiro de Madrid (I) y (II)", *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, 29 (1990) y 30 (1991) 19–35 and 13–28.



FIGURE 4.2 Francisco de Zurbarán, *Defence of Cadiz against the English* (1634). Oil on canvas, 303 × 323 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (inv. no. P000656) IMAGE © WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

from a landscape gallery running along the western wing of the palace to the rooms hung with the portraits of the king's ancestors, ending in the Hall of Realms, the centrepiece of the palace where the magnificence of the prince and of Spanish Habsburg Monarchy was performatively staged.

It served as a throne room as well as a theatre as there are records showing that different plays were presented there, before the construction of the *Coliseo del Buen Retiro*. An important element was the balcony with an iron balustrade that ran above the paintings allowing a greater number of spectators to view the ceremonies and spectacles that took place in the hall. I believe that the permanent decoration also references this gallery, whose existence possibly explains the different vanishing points used by Zurbarán [Fig. 4.2] and Velázquez [Fig. 4.3] in their paintings, that take into account the different perspectives from which the canvases could be viewed.



FIGURE 4.3 Diego Velázquez, *The Surrender of Breda* (1634–1635). Oil on canvas, 307 × 367 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (inv. no. P001172)
IMAGE © WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

The permanent decoration of the Hall of Realms, completed between 1634 and 1635, indicates the importance of the room in the palace where most of the other areas had temporary seasonal decorations. It consisted of twelve jasper consoles accompanied by rampant lions in silver with the coats of arms of Aragon. Twelve large canvases representing battles fought by Philip IV's army from 1622 to 1633 were hung on the long walls. They were painted by Vicente Carducho, Eugenio Cajés, Félix Castello, Jusepe Leonardo, Antonio de Pereda [Fig. 4.4], Francisco de Zurbarán, Juan Bautista Maíno [Fig. 4.5] and Diego Velázquez, and over them ten paintings of the labours of Hercules by Zurbarán were placed [Figs. 4.6–4.7]. All of the pictures except one by Cajés have survived. However, the original positions of the canvases depicting battles are unknown despite efforts to reconstruct the original appearance of the hall.[8]

8 One of the most interesting, even without documentary support, was proposed by Orso. For him the battles by Carducho, Cajés and Castello were set opposite the ones by Velázquez, Zurbarán, Leonardo and Maíno, transforming the hall into the battlefield of two artistic generations, Orso S.N. *Velázquez. Los Borrachos and Painting at the Court of Philip IV*, (Cambridge: 1993) 142–145.



FIGURE 4.4 Antonio de Pereda, *The Rescue of Genoa by the II Marquis of Santa Cruz* (1634). Oil on canvas, 290 × 370 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (inv. no. P07126)
IMAGE © WIKIMEDIA COMMONS



FIGURE 4.5 Juan Bautista Maíno, *The Recapture of Bahia* (1635). Oil on canvas, 309 × 381 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (inv. no. P000885)
IMAGE © WIKIMEDIA COMMONS



FIGURE 4.6 Francisco de Zurbarán, *Hercules defeating Gerion* (1634). Oil on canvas, 136 × 167 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (inv. no. P001242)
IMAGE © WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

It is known that the five equestrian portraits hung on the short walls, on the east side the portraits of Philip III and Margaret of Austria – Philip IV's parents, and on the west side portraits of Philip IV, his first wife, Isabella of Bourbon and the heir apparent Prince Baltasar Carlos [Fig. 4.8].

Brown and Elliott defined the iconographic program of the Hall as conventional and somewhat antiquated.[9] They proposed that the coats of arms allude to the universal extension of the monarchy and to the *Unión de Armas* promoted by the prime minister, the Count-Duke of Olivares. The scenes of Hercules, representing the triumph of virtue over discord, were viewed as a concession to fashionable allegorical themes. They also purportedly served as a lesson in good government to Prince Baltasar Carlos, whereas the other paintings simply

9 Brown – Elliott, *A Palace for a King* 163 'the Hall of Realms as a Hall of Princely Virtue would be based on a superannuated format [...] The Hall of Realms may have been somewhat old-fashioned in the context of its times'.



FIGURE 4.7 Francisco de Zurbarán, *Hercules creating the Strait of Gibraltar* (1634). Oil on canvas, 136 × 167 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (inv. no. P001241)
IMAGE © WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

show Philip IV's victories. This message was seen as being diluted by the military defeats of the decade of the 1630s when several of the territories depicted were lost to the Spanish crown, provoking the fall and banishment of Olivares.

These authors connected the iconographic program of the hall to the Italian renaissance tradition of rooms celebrating the virtuous ruler, as in the *Salone dei Cinquecento*, of the Florentine Palazzo Vecchio or the *Sala dei Fasti Farnesiani* in the palace of Caprarola and the Palazzo Farnese in Rome. Also in the seventeenth century this theme was represented in the Mary of Medici Gallery in the Palais du Luxembourg in Paris with its cycle of paintings by Rubens[10] and in the decoration of the Banqueting House of Whitehall Palace in London, also created by Rubens.[11]

10 Cojannot-Le Blanc M. – Prioux É., *Rubens. Des camées antiques à la galerie Médicis* (Paris – New York: 2018). This gallery is discussed in the essay of Michèle Caroline Heck in this book as well.

11 Martin G., *The Ceiling Decoration of the Banqueting Hall* (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard XV), (Turnhout: 2006).



FIGURE 4.8 Diego Velázquez, *Prince Baltasar Carlos on horseback* (1635). Oil on canvas, 211,5 × 177 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (inv. no. P01180)
IMAGE © WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

Richard L. Kagan noted the paucity of Spanish examples of this type of hall and put forward a slightly different analysis, as in other examples of this type of hall the ruler always appears as the centre of attention, whereas in the Hall of Realms it is the military commanders who are the key protagonists. This would reflect the influence of Giovanni Botero's *Della Ragion di Stato* (1589) according to which 'un príncipe interesado de verdad en mantener la lealtad de sus vasallos debía reservar para ellos un lugar de honor en la historia' – 'a prince that really wishes to maintain the loyalty of his subjects must give them

a place of honor in History'.[12] Even the figure of Hercules is seen by this author as having more in common with the commanders than with the monarch because Hercules carried out his feats in the service of Euristeus, king of Argos. For these reasons Kagan read the room as a hall of Heroic or Aristocratic Virtue, even as a *Speculum republicae*, which portrays the king as the head of the monarchy and his subjects as the body.[13]

However, by taking into consideration only the historical circumstances of its creation and part of the iconographic program these authors overlook important themes that help explain this space of royal magnificence as a whole and to define its relationship to other representative spaces in the Spanish monarchy. The first thing to consider is the importance of the name Golden Hall that immediately connects this space to the room of the same name in the Alcázar de Madrid, which was also used as a theatre and contained a series of portraits of Spanish monarchs;[14] there is a clear parallelism between the two buildings and the idea of Magnificence, commonly represented in the seventeenth century as a 'donna vestita & coronata d'oro', 'a woman dressed and crowned with gold'.[15] The presence of the balcony as an extension of the room also existed in the Royal Palace of Valladolid in a hall that was used for celebrating special events.[16] This type of hall of princely virtues with portraits of the kings also existed in other Spanish royal palaces such as the Hall of Kings in

12 Kagan R.L., "Imágenes y política en la corte de Felipe IV de España. Nuevas perspectivas sobre el Salón de Reinos" in Palos J.L. – Carrió-Invernizzi D., *La Historia imaginada. Construcciones visuales del pasado en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: 2008) 101–119, quote on 114.

13 Ibidem, 114–116.

14 Aterido Fernández A., "Alonso Cano y la 'alcoba de su majestad': La serie regia del Alcázar de Madrid", *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 38 (2002) 9–36.

15 Ripa, *Della novissima iconologia* 405.

16 Cabrera de Córdoba Luis, *Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España, desde 1599 hasta 1614*, (ed. Madrid: 1857) 251 'El jueves 16 del pasado [1605], á las nueve de la noche, se comenzó la máscara y sarao en el nuevo salón, que tiene 150 pies de largo y 50 de ancho, y con las ventanas y corredores que estan hechos en lo alto al rededor, puede caber mucha gente, como la hubo este dia, sin darse pesadumbre unos á otros ni estar apretados ni con calor; y al cabo de él hay dos sillas altas, que se sube á ellas por ciertas gradas hechas con mucha curiosidad y arquitectura, con tres ninfas en el remate de arriba que tienen ciertas trompetillas en las manos, y con artificio las ponen en la boca y tañen con ellas'. – 'Last Thursday, at nine p.m. the masque and ball began in the new hall, that is 150 feet long by 50 feet wide, and with the windows and corridors that are high up a lot of people can be hosted, as happened that day, without them being hot or disturbing each other; and at the end of the room there are two high chairs on top of a beautiful flight of stairs, with three nymphs on top of it with little trumpets in their hands, and with a mechanism they put them in their mouths and make them sound'.

the Alcázar de Segovia or in the Hall of Ambassadors in the Alcázar de Sevilla, which Phillip IV knew well from his stay in that city in 1624.[17]

There were also precedents for halls with battle scenes in Spain and Spanish territories, such as the frescos of Belisario Corenzio in the Gallery of Ambassadors or those of Battistello in the *Hall of the Gran Capitán* in the Royal Palace of Naples,[18] and the same can be said of the ones by Cristoforo Passini in the Castle at Alba de Tormes,[19] those of Romolo Cincinnato in the palace of the Duke of Infantado in Guadalajara or the Gallery of Battles in El Escorial.[20] In the *Salón Nuevo* of the Alcázar de Madrid, which was used as the throne room, equestrian portraits were mixed with large paintings of historical scenes by Titian, Rubens, and Velázquez, in a way that was similar to the Hall of Realms, even though the intention in the Alcázar was to gather a series of artistic masterpieces since they were related only by a loosely defined iconographic program exalting the Spanish monarchy.

In addition to these precedents, the tapestry series of the Conquest of Tunis by Charles V, made in the workshop of Willem de Pannemaker with cartoons by Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen in 1554, must be taken into account, as tapestries were considered in Europe the epitome of luxury from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Although they were never permanently displayed in one place, these series achieved an emblematic character through their use to mark the most important events for the monarchy such as the marriage of Philip II to Mary Tudor in Winchester cathedral,[21] the baptism of the infanta Ana Mauricia in the church of San Pablo in Valladolid in 1601,[22] the baptism of Philip IV in 1605[23] or the inauguration of the church of the Convent of the

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17 Herrera y Sotomayor Jacinto, *Jornada que su Magestad hizo a la Andaluzia* (Madrid, Imprenta Real: 1624) 3: 'Passò su Magestad a aposentarse al Alcaçar que aun a su grandeza pudo no perdonarle lo admirado, tal era el edificio, el adereço de sus salas, y lo artificioso, y natural de sus jardines'. – 'His Majesty went to the Alcázar that he could not help but admire, so great was the building, the decoration of the rooms and the natural and artful elements of its gardens'.

18 Porzio A. – Causa S. – Iadicicco I., *Battistello pittore di storia. Restauro di un affresco* (Naples: 1992).

19 Martínez de Irujo y Artázcoz L., *La batalla de Mühlberg en las pinturas murales de Alba de Tormes* (Madrid: 1962).

20 Brown J., *La Sala de Batallas de El Escorial. La obra de arte como artefacto cultural* (Salamanca: 1998).

21 Cahill Marrón E.L., "Catalina, la esperada Princesa de Gales: Arte y ceremonia en los festejos nupciales de 1501" in Mínguez V., (ed.), *Las artes y la arquitectura del poder* (Castellón de la Plana: 2013) 2528.

22 Cortés N.A., *La Corte de Felipe III en Valladolid* (Valladolid: 1908) 25.

23 Ibidem, 45.

Encarnación in Madrid in 1616;[24] indeed, the Tunis cycle was displayed repeatedly in the Golden Hall of the Alcázar,[25] even though Tunis was retaken by the Ottomans some decades later.[26]

Viewed in this light, rather than being an outdated representation of Italian models, the Hall of Realms was an updating of a type of throne room that was widely used in the palaces of the Spanish monarchy as it combined different elements such as the royal portraits or the depiction of battles to promote the idea of princely splendour and magnificence in an innovative way that will be shown in the pages that follow.

The presence of nobles and military commanders in the paintings is due to the fact that unlike Charles V or Philip II, Philip IV did not participate directly in the battles represented. In the paintings there is an evident desire to be true to historical facts and to emphasise that the battles were fought in the name of the king and following his orders as Maíno shows in his canvas [Fig. 4.5]. This desire for historical accuracy contrasts with the allegorical language used by Rubens in the Banqueting House or by Le Brun in the *Galerie des Glaces* in Versailles. It seems that Velázquez was inspired by the *Obsidio Bredana* by Herman Hugo for the landscape in *The Surrender of Breda*, which had been translated into Spanish.[27] Perhaps Maíno consulted a print from the *Descripción de la Baia de Todos los Santos* by Alardo de Popma of 1625,[28] and Zurbarán could have read the book by Gamboa y Eraso about the English attack on Cadiz in seeking inspiration for his composition.[29] This realism could derive from the fact that the Spanish Monarchy's domains were so vast; there was no need for allegories, given that the exact representation of various landscapes was a sufficient allusion to the greatness and power of the Spanish king. At the same time this kind of representation was clearly related to the design of tapestries like the ones Tunis cycle of Charles V, which represented the imperial army in front of a landscape, which is to say that the paintings in the hall may be viewed as substitutes for such tapestries, an idea that I will develop later in this text.

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24 Quintana Jerónimo de, *A la muy antigua, noble y coronada villa de Madrid. Historia de su antigüedad, nobleza y grandeza* (Madrid, Imprenta del Reyno: 1629), Libro III, 438.

25 Brown – Elliott, *A Palace for a King* 212.

26 García Martín P., "La conquista de Túnez por Carlos V en 1535", *Hidalguía* 278 (2009) 339–347.

27 Pita Andrade J.M., "Historia y arte en La rendición de Breda" in Alcalá Zamora J. – Pérez Sánchez A.E. (eds.), *Velázquez y Calderón: dos genios de Europa*, (Madrid: 2001) 63–100, 68.

28 Marías, *Imágenes políticas* 55.

29 Gamboa y Eraso Luis de, *Verdad de lo sucedido con ocasión de la venida de la Armada inglesa del enemigo sobre Cádiz* (Córdoba, Salvador de Cea: 1626).

Something similar can be said for the representation of Hercules, as there was a clear relationship between the hero and images of the Spanish monarchy. Most famous is the use of Herculean references in the heraldic devices of Charles V, but there is also the use of the image of the demigod by other Spanish monarchs, such as the ones displayed by Isabella I when she received Philip the Fair and Juana I in Toledo,[30] or the comparisons of Philip IV to Atlas and the *Hercules Tebanus* in the celebrations of his birth in Valladolid.[31]

It has been argued too that the paintings of Zurbarán allude to *Hercules Hispanicus*,[32] the civilizing hero who defeats chaos and founds cities such as Cadiz and Seville. However, they represent the labours done in Spain, the creation of the Strait of Gibraltar and the defeat of Gerion, a feat in which, according to Stesichorus, Hercules was aided by the Sun who gave him a golden ship to reach the Iberian Peninsula[33] reinforcing the connection between the hero and Phillip IV as the Sun King.

The representation of the coats of arms also had antecedents in other works sponsored by the Spanish monarchy, such as the coats of arms placed in the parapets of the second floor of the courtyard of the Royal Palace in Valladolid

30 Porras Gil M.C., *De Bruselas a Toledo. El viaje de los archiduques Felipe y Juana* (Madrid – Valladolid: 2015) 495: 'una sala grande con la tapicería de Hércules colgada, la cual tapicería fue de Madame Margarita y es bella y rica' – 'a great hall hung with the Hercules tapestries, tapestries that belonged to Madame Margaret and are beautiful and rich'.

31 Godínez de Millis Juan, *Relación de lo sucedido en la ciudad de Valladolid, desde el punto del felicissimo nacimiento del Principe Don Felipe Dominico Victor nuestro Señor: hasta que se acabaron las demostraciones de alegría que por el se hizieron* (Valladolid, Antonio Coello: 1605) 42 'Filipo el Quarto vino / a merecer, como Hercules Tebano / aquel premio divino, / que dan los Dioses al valor humano, / que en competencia suya / paz, y descanso publico instituya. / Mas domará primero / si en la cuna le embisten los Dragones / en edad más entera / las Quimeras, las Hydras, y Leones / y en el infierno mismo / pondrá en prisión las furias de su avismo/ Quando en sus hombros quiera / poner Filipo como Atlante el mundo / de la misma manera / que Carlos los libro desde el Segundo / Emulo del abuelo / podrá en tierra sostener el Cielo'. – 'Philip IV came to deserve, like the Theban Hercules, that divine prize that gods bestow on human valour, so he could establish public comfort and peace. And if he is attacked by dragons in his cradle, he will tame later in life the Chimeras, Hydras and Lions and even in hell itself he will imprison the furies of its abyss. When in his shoulders Philip will want to rest the world like Atlas, in the same way as Charles V did, imitating his grandfather he will we able to hold the sky while on earth'.

32 Brown – Elliott, *A Palace for a King* 217–223.

33 Stesichorus, *Mythological Library* (2, 5, 10) 'As a tenth labor, Hercules was ordered to go and take Gerión's cattle from Eriteia, an island in the vicinity of the ocean, that now is called Cadiz (…) Travelling through Europe to look for Gerión's livestock, Hercules killed many wild beasts, went to Libia and when he passed through Tartessos erected the two pillars, in the limits of Europe and Africa, as a monument to his journey. While travelling he was sunburnt, so he aimed his arrows at the Sun. The Sun, admired of his boldness, presented him with a golden cup, in which he crossed the ocean'.

under Philip III, a space that, conceived as the Temple of Fame by its architect Luis de Vega, was thus attached to the concept of magnificence and, as such, indispensable to the notion of glorious achievement.[34]

However, the most important precedent is probably the representation of the sovereign with a heraldic suit adorned with the coats of arms of his dominions, as a symbol of his inheritance and his responsibility towards his dominions. This treatment appears in the diptych of 1495 showing Philip I and Margaret of Austria, attributed to Pieter van Coninxloo, in the National Gallery, London; it appears even more clearly in the portrait of Philip I holding the sword of justice in the *Zierikzee Triptych*[35] painted between 1505–1506 by the Master of the Joseph Sequence, perhaps Jacob van Laethem [Fig. 4.9].[36] This type of image in which the sovereign appears literally covered by his dominions can also be seen on the helmet of Charles V in the Royal Armoury, dated circa 1540, by Desiderius Helmschmied,[37] in the mantle of Phillip II in the statue of the king at prayer, by Pompeo Leoni, in the Basilica of the Escorial and in the stained glass window in the north transept of the Cathedral of Antwerp with the images of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella Clara Eugenia at prayer, made in 1616.

The representation of the coats of arms in these cases is inseparable from the figure of the sovereign; thus the heraldic mantle in the Hall of Realms not only acts as a representation of the monarchy but also as an image of the monarch himself.[38] This enumeration of the many territories of the Spanish monarchy fits perfectly with Ripa's idea of Magnificence as the glorification of State and Empire.

The coats of arms accompany a gilded grotesque decoration that makes the room appear more magnificent and luxurious and at the same time complements the iconographic discourse of the hall. Continuing the military theme

34 Pérez Gil J., "La imagen de la Corte en Valladolid: Palacio Real y palacio de los condes de Benavente", in Villalobos Alonso D. y Pérez Barreiro S. (eds.), *Trazas de la Arquitectura Palaciega en el Valladolid de la Corte* (Valladolid: 2014) 63.

35 Coomans T., "Les vues de ville sur les portraits, expression de la 'topographie sociale' des commanditaires" in Bussers H. – Kerckhof V. van de (eds.), *Le peintre et l'arpenteur. Images de Bruxelles et de l'ancien Duché de Brabant*, exh. cat., Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique (Bruselas: 2000) 174 states that the sitters 'Dans leurs costumes d'apparat, ils affectent un pose codifiée et hiératique, sous le poids de leurs attributs et emblèmes héraldiques, symboles d'un pouvoir hérité'. – 'In their stately costumes they adopt a codified and hieratic pose, under the weight of their attributes and heraldic emblems, symbols of an inherited power'.

36 Bussers – Van de Kerckhof, *Le peintre et l'arpenteur* 68 (catalogue entry by Henri Pauwels).

37 Soler del Campo A. (ed.), *El arte del poder. La Real Armería y el retrato de corte*, exh. cat., Museo Nacional del Prado (Madrid: 2010) 112.

38 Belting H., *Antropología de la imagen* (Buenos Aires: 2007) 145–177. Urquízar A., "Teoría de la magnificencia y teoría de las señales en el pensamiento nobiliario español del siglo XVI", *Ars Longa* 23 (2014) 93–111.




FIGURE 4.9 Master of the Joseph Sequence, *Philip I and Joana I of Castile* (1505–1506), Oil on wood, 125 × 47 cm. Bruxelles, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique (inv. no. 2405 and 2406)
IMAGE © WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

present in the paintings, a group of four putti appears in the centre of the ceiling carrying different arms, a torch and a banner, continuing the military theme presented in the paintings. The decoration also includes two cartouches at the sides, with painted scroll-work sheltered by a simplified version of a tent, and with battle scenes on their interiors. The elements that connect these zones are three female figures with a laurel branch alluding to victory[39] and

39 The representation is so stylized that it could also be a branch of an olive tree, alluding to Peace.

vases containing lilies that sit on what seems to be a stylized yoke resting on two stags, a known symbol of prudence.

In this context, the motif probably alludes to the stag in Psalm 42, 1–2 and thus to the presence of God. Together with the lilies, the symbol of chastity and the Virgin Mary, they express the desire for a universal Catholic monarchy and the reign of peace, which would explain why the cupids, rather than fighting amongst themselves, carry arms as if they were trophies, an idea consistent with Ripa's definition of magnificence as honouring religion above all.

This emphasis on Religion as part of the idea of magnificence is reflected both in the performing and the visual arts of the period, for example in the comparison of Philip IV with Christ and of Isabella of Bourbon with the Catholic Church that Calderón used in his auto sacramental entitled *El nuevo palacio del Retiro*[40] and that Caramuel expounded in his *Declaración Mystica de las Armas de España* of 1636[41] and also in the representation of Philip IV as a peacemaker in the tapestry that don Fadrique de Toledo points to in the *Recapture of Bahía*. This painting appears to have been inspired by the relief on the Arch of Constantine in Rome with the inscription 'Fundator Quietis', that is, 'Founder of Peace'. [Fig. 4.10]

In this respect magnificence here is just one of the virtues of the king, and is accompanied by justice, magnanimity, prudence and temperance. Motifs such as this resist a univocal interpretation of the hall: the battle paintings should not be interpreted as simple representations of the fight against heresy, as some scenes, *The Relief of Genoa*, for instance, were not motivated by the attacks of Protestant troops but by the armies of the king of France.

In the same fashion *The Recapture of Bahía* should be understood not only as an allusion to the fight against heresy or discord but also as confirmation of the protection offered by the king to his Portuguese subjects. In general, all the paintings in the hall represent neither conquest nor the spread of Catholicism by force, but the maintenance of peace and the balance of forces necessary for the prosperity of all the crown's territories. This iconographic program is different from those of other European palaces, especially that of Le Brun in Versailles, because Philip IV does not appear as a conquering king but as the guarantor of peace, as shown on the painting by Maíno, where he holds in one hand the palm of victory and in the other a sword entwined with an olive

40 Greer M.R., "Los dos cuerpos del rey en Calderón: El nuevo palacio del Retiro y El mayor encanto amor", en Vilanova A. (ed.), *Actas del X Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, (Barcelona: 1992) 975–984.

41 Caramuel y Lobkowitz Juan de, *Declaracion Mystica de las Armas de España invictamente belicosas* (Bruselas, Lucas de Meerbeque: 1636).



FIGURE 4.10 Anon. *Trajan's as Fundator Quietis* (2nd Century AD). Stone. Rome, Arch of Constantine
IMAGE © WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

branch symbolizing the peace and justice he desires for his subjects, for the captains and generals seen labouring at his behest in the paintings and for his son and heir, who is shown on horseback galloping towards the centre of the hall ready and eager to carry on his father's mission, as one of the poets who eulogized the palace said, in order to install a new Golden Age in this Golden Hall.[42] A hall that shone as a room of gold as the grotesques in the vault, the gilded frames of the canvases and the silver lamps over the side tables dazzled the eyes of the observer.

42 Isola J., "Al Salon del Buen Retiro", in Covarrubias y Leyva Diego de, *Elogios al palacio real del Buen Retiro. Escritos por algunos ingenios de España* (Madrid, Imprenta del Reino: 1635) n.p. 'En esta Sala lo mejor del Orbe / De su poder los símbolos traslada / En el Oro de tanta primavera. / Y sin que el Hado tu Grandeza estorbe, / Presago a Baltasar, de Edad dorada / Le ha prevenido el Triunfo que le espera'. – 'In this room the best part of the world has the symbols of its power represented in the gold of so much springtime. Fate cannot obstruct your greatness, and even foreseeing the Golden age coming with Baltasar Carlos has prepared the triumphs that are awaiting him'.

The main theme of the hall does not seem so much to be victory on the battlefield, which speaks only of the momentary splendour of the monarchy, as the transcendent and providential mission of the Spanish monarch as the eternal guarantor of world peace,[43] a theme that circles back to the Universal Monarchy of Charles V and Philip II.[44] The idea, once again, may have found a confirmation in the places visited during the journey to Andalusia, for in the tomb of Alfonso X in the Royal Chapel of Seville Cathedral the following inscription can be read: 'PAX, VICTORIA, MEMORIA' that is, 'PEACE, VICTORY, MEMORY', elements that, as we have seen, were present in the Hall of Realms.

This explains why even after the defeats at the hands of the United Provinces and France the hall's decoration remained unchanged, and it would have been relatively easy to effect changes, given the mobile nature of the paintings. In time the Hall of Realms became an iconographic inspiration for later representations of the magnificence of the Spanish monarchy and served during the reign of Charles II as a model for Luca Giordano's decoration of the *Casón del Buen Retiro*, which in the antechamber canvases depicting the battles of Fernando el Católico, on the walls of the main hall the labours of Hercules and on the ceiling the glorification of the Spanish monarchy represented by allegorical figures dressed in heraldic mantles.[45] The idea was going reused, 130 years later, by Giambattista Tiepolo in the frescoes of the Throne room at the Royal Palace of Madrid.

All of these elements enrich our reading of the hall but a complete understanding of it would depend on the knowledge of the viewer; thus for some foreign visitors it would have been merely a room decorated with battle scenes, but for Calderón and for the poets that celebrated the inauguration of the palace[46] this magnificent space was a Temple of Fame,[47] the House of the Sun,[48] and even the Heavenly Jerusalem.

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43 Gaspar Dávila begins his sonnet 'Al Salon' in Covarrubias y Leyva, *Elogios al palacio* with these verses 'En este Cosmográfico diseño / Indice contra el tiempo y el olvido'.
'In this cosmographic design, standard against time and oblivion'.

44 Caramuel y Lobkowitz, *Declaracion Mystica* 21 'Sol es esta Peninsula que con sus rayos da luz Evangelica a diferentes orbes'. 'This peninsula is a sun that with its rays gives Evangelical light to different worlds'.

45 Hermoso Cuesta M., *Lucas Jordán y la Corte de Madrid. Una década prodigiosa 1692–1702* (Zaragoza: 2008) 139–162.

46 Covarrubias y Leyva Diego de, *Elogios al palacio real del Buen Retiro. Escritos por algunos ingenios de España* (Madrid, Imprenta del Reino: 1635).

47 Pellicer De Salas y Tovar D., "Octavas en alabanza del Palacio Real del Buen Retiro", in Covarrubias y Leyva, *Elogios al palacio* n.p.

48 Valdivieso J. de, "Al salon del nuevo Palacio", in Covarrubias y Leyva, *Elogios al palacio* n.p.

That the same work of art could acquire such different meanings, even taking into account the exaggerations of court poets, is indicative of the complexity of its iconography and the high level of artistic sophistication at the court of Philip IV.

In order fully to grasp the room's meaning, it is necessary to understand how the decoration was conceived, even though this is not strictly related to the idea of magnificence, because one of the most noteworthy elements of the hall is that the paintings were not done by a single artist, which should have been Velázquez aided by his workshop, unlike other major decorative schemes by Vasari, Rubens, Bernini and Le Brun.

Although there are exceptions such as the *Oranjezaal* of Huis ten Bosch in The Hague with paintings of Jacob Jordaens, Gerrit van Honthorst and Caesar van Everdingen among other artists or the *Galerie Dorée* of the Parisian Hôtel of Louis Phélypeaux de La Vrillière, for which the patron commissioned works by Guido Reni, Guercino, Nicolas Poussin, Alessandro Turchi and Pietro da Cortona,[49] it is nonetheless true that the Hall of Realms' combination of iconographic complexity and political significance made it virtually unique.

The traditional justification for the stylistic differences in the battle scenes is that there was pressure to finish the decoration as quickly as possible, this reasoning is surely valid for other areas of the building, but it is remarkable that in this same room the labours of Hercules and the equestrian portraits were commissioned from single painters.

Surely what was envisioned here was an opportunity for artistic collaboration, just as the armies represented in the canvases included soldiers from many of the Spanish realms, possibly referring to the *Unión de Armas* promoted by Olivares, and, to cite another parallel, as some contemporary Spanish comedies were written by several hands, a common phenomenon in seventeenth century Spain that started in the second decade of that century.[50] The goal was to maintain a high level of quality in every part of the work, without losing coherence or showing great stylistic variations. Among the collaborative dramas issued before the completion of the Buen Retiro, there were *Polifemo y Circe* by Antonio Mira de Amescua, Juan Pérez de Montalbán and Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *El catalán Serrallonga* by Antonio Coello, Luis Vélez de Guevara and Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla and *El mejor amigo el muerto* by Luis

49 Manas A., *La galerie dorée de la Banque de France: Quatre siècles d'art, d'histoire et de pouvoir* (Paris: 2018).

50 Matas Caballero J. (ed.), *La comedia escrita en colaboración en el teatro del Siglo de Oro* (Olmedo – Valladolid: 2017). Lobato M.L. – Martínez Carro E., *Escribir entre amigos. Agustín Moreto y el teatro barroco*, exh. cat. Imprenta Municipal (Madrid: 2018).

de Belmonte Bermúdez, Sebastián de Alarcón, Pedro Calderón de la Barca and two anonymous authors.[51]

That this idea was not new and that the emulation between different artistic genres was expected in this era is commonly known,[52] but it is useful to remember the *ekphrasis* of Lope de Vega on the frescos of Passini in the castle of Alba de Tormes,[53] the opinion expressed by Cervantes in the third volume of *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, 'La historia, la poesía y la pintura simbolizan entre sí, y se parecen tanto que, cuando escribes historia, pintas, y cuando pintas, compones',[54] 'History, poetry and painting mix with each other and are so alike in appearance, that when you write history, you paint, and when you paint, you write', and the comment of Ana Ponce de León on the canvas by Maíno commemorating the victories of Phillip IV '[…] mejor que en bronce, en lino están grabadas / porque escritas no tienen, ni esculpidas / el vivo aliento que les da pintadas'[55] '[…] They are engraved in canvas better than in bronze, because when written or sculpted they lack the breath of life that they have when painted' [Fig. 4.5].

The hall can also be considered a painting gallery because the works of different artists are represented; it is also a portrait gallery and at the same time a geographical gallery,[56] as much for the coats of arms in the upper friezes which convert the hall into a lesson in geography and history of the Spanish monarchy for the heir apparent as for the rigorous precise portrayal of the landscapes in some of the paintings.[57] To walk through the hall was to take a journey from

51 Alviti R., "El proceso de escritura en colaboración: Sincronía y diacronía", in Matas Caballero, *La comedia escrita* 15–27.

52 Portús Pérez J., *Pintura y pensamiento en la España de Lope de Vega* (Hondarribia: 1999).

53 Sánchez Jiménez A., "Furor, mecenazgo y *Enárgeia* en la *Arcadia* (1598): Lope de Vega y los frescos de Cristoforo Passini para el palacio del Gran Duque de Alba" in *Etiópicas* 10 (2014) 55–110.

54 Cervantes Saavedra Miguel de, *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (Madrid, Juan de la Cuesta: 1617) 170.

55 Ponce de León A., "Soneto a la pintura que fray Juan Baptista pintò para el Retiro", in Covarrubias y Leyva, *Elogios al palacio* n.p.

56 Fuente Vozmediano G. de la, "Al Salon del Buen Retiro", in Covarrubias y Leyva, *Elogios al palacio* n.p. begins his poem like this 'En esta distancia breve, / tanto del Orbe se encierra, / Que lo que falta de tierra / A la admiración se debe, / Y tanto espíritu mueve, / Este de valor profundo / Epilogo sin segundo / Que incluye su perfeccion / En el cero de un Salon / La mayor suma del mundo'. – 'In this brief distance so much of the world is contained that what it lacks in extension is due to the admiration, and this room without equal and of immense value so much affects the spirits that includes in the nullity of a hall the biggest concentration of the world'.

57 Pellicer de Tovar J. de, "Al mismo assumpto" in Covarrubias y Leyva, *Elogios al palacio* n.p. The hall is 'Esse exemplo eloquente, estudio mudo / Purpureo Baltasar, que os ha labrado /

Italy to Flanders and Brazil, just as the sun did in the sky or the 'Quarto Sol Hispano'[58] or 'Spanish fourth sun', in whose territories the sun never set,[59] did in his hall.

With respect to the organization of this example of royal magnificence, it is worthwhile to note that hangings were not used on the walls as in other rooms in the palace and that there was no architectural frame in the form of mouldings, a frieze or a geometric pattern on the walls or ceiling. This differentiates the Hall of Realms from the contemporary examples already mentioned, but brings it closer to other examples in Spain and its territories such as the palace of El Pardo, the Royal Palace of Naples or the palace of the Duke of Infantado with the notable difference that the historical scenes occupied the walls and not the ceiling. The most evident parallelism is with the Gallery of Battles in the Escorial, where battle scenes occupying the walls were treated as trompe l'oeil tapestries. This reveals the subtlety in the design of the Hall of Realms: the space is solely organized by painting. In the first place because if one imagines the hall without its paintings, with only the grotesques on the walls and ceiling, one realizes that the room resembles a luxurious tent, in which the textiles have been imitated by the sole expedient of pictorial images. The paintings of the battle scenes remind us of tapestries because of their size, and perhaps because of this, Maíno represented Philip IV's portrait in the form of a tapestry [Fig. 4.5]. The equestrian portraits could even be literally folded because their lower corners formed part of the side doors of the Hall,[60] seemingly negating their character as paintings and emphasising their similarity to tapestries.

The only discordant elements are the labours of Hercules. It has often been noted that the choice to commission these pictures form a painter unfamiliar

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Varon Heroyco en nunca estilo rudo. / Esse pues, consultad, que allí enseñado / En vivas lenguas de uno y otro Escudo / Quedareis a mas glorias empeñado'. – 'That eloquent example, muted studio, oh born in the purple Baltasar! that has been built by a hero in refined style. That one you must study, for in it, explained in living languages of one and another scutcheon you will insist to a greater glory'.

58 Roa G. de, "Al quadro de la restauración del Brasil", in Covarrubias y Leyva, *Elogios al palacio* n.p.

59 Godínez de Millis, *Relación de lo sucedido* 43v 'Viva pues viva viva / el Principe Español, y todo el Orbe / subdito le reciba / que el Sol sin que aya Dios que se lo estorve, / como por ministerio / siempre alumbra algún Reyno de su Imperio'. – 'Let the Spanish prince live and all the orb subject to him may receive him. Because the sun, without any deity preventing it, is always lighting one of the reigns of his empire'.

60 Portús J. – García-Máiquez J. – Dávila R., "Los retratos ecuestres de Felipe III y Margarita de Austria de Velázquez para el Salón de Reinos", *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 29, 47 (2011) 16–39.

with mythological themes or nudes is surprising; it has been further argued that the paintings are in reality emblems,[61] even though the religious paintings by Zurbarán could hardly be called emblematic. It is possible that the painter was selected for the tactile quality of his works and that his strong chiaroscuro was perfect for paintings designed to hang above the windows of the hall and below the gallery; the strong relief to his figures would be visible even when backlit. Thus the creators of the program demonstrated their ingenuity by designing a space charged with meaning solely through pictorial means as in the *bel composto* berniniano in which the architecture, without losing its tectonic character, is simultaneously converted into painting and sculpture.[62] Painting could suggest embroidery, tapestries or reliefs without losing its own essence; as the canvases by Antonio de Pereda, Diego Velázquez and Jusepe Leonardo show, this mission could be accomplished even while allowing the brushstrokes to remain visible.

The idea is not far from the poetics of Velázquez, which must have played an important part in the configuration of the hall; his poetics is subtle and at the same time extremely theatrical, as the parallelism between his battle scene and the drama of Calderón *El sitio de Breda*, indicates. His theatrical poetics is of course perfectly adapted to a room that was also used as a theatre. This example of royal magnificence, conceived in a way that had no parallel at other European courts, thus became a theatre of the world,[63] a field of Mars and a stage for the victory of painting over the other arts; these imbricated concepts would surely have pleased Phillip IV, whose given name was Felipe Dominico Víctor.

In conclusion it can be stated that the Hall of Realms functioned as a perfect example of royal magnificence since its creation, revealed the king's greatness, and its meaning was directly related to the concepts of honouring the state, the empire and religion. The king was shown in his role as guarantor of worldly peace in a manner neither excessive nor overwhelming to the visitor, in that these ideas were expressed with such refinement and ingenuity that the resulting space was all but unique. In this respect, the hall perfectly correlated to the Spanish Monarchy, which was sui generis, without parallel anywhere else in Europe. Other European courts, by contrast, resorted to the more common language of allegory to illustrate similar ideas.

61 Brown – Elliott, *A Palace for a King* 222.

62 Montanari T., *La libertà di Bernini* (Turin: 2016) 92.

63 As was called by José de Valdivieso, Juan de Solís and Juan de Paredes en Covarrubias y Leyva, *Elogios al palacio* n.p.

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CHAPTER 5

Magnificence, Power, and Private Finance in the Seventeenth Century: Flavio Orsini and Marie-Anne de La Trémoille, between Rome and Paris (1675–1686)

Anne-Madeleine Goulet

In this essay I reflect upon the apparent paradox that characterized the Roman aristocracy during the second half of the seventeenth century: although their finances were frequently in critical condition, they continued to regularly invest large sums in the organisation of artistic events described as 'magnificent' by contemporaries.[1] To do so, I propose to focus on a particular case: that of Flavio Orsini (1620–1698), Duke of Bracciano, and his wife, Marie-Anne de La Trémoille (1642–1722), customarily known as the Princesse des Ursins. They married in 1675; Marie-Anne issued from the oldest nobility of France; Flavio Orsini was a high-ranking member of the Roman baronage. Both had been previously married and widowed. As Duke and Duchess of Bracciano, their lifestyle was characterised by an aristocratic magnificence and by a general model of expenditure that were linked to the aristocratic ethos prevalent in both Rome and Versailles.[2]

Long-term research currently underway in Roman archives has brought to light diverse and numerous sources – letters, accounts, journals, notarial documents – containing detailed information about the ducal couple.[3] During

1 I would like to thank Isabella Cecchini and Benoît Maréchaux for their invaluable advice on this survey's economic dimension, Orsetta Baroncelli, graduate of Rome's Scuola di Archivistica, Paleografia e Diplomatica dell'Archivio di Stato, for her precious help with the transcription of the Italian documents used in this study, and also Anna Little and Maria Raffaele for the translation of this paper.

2 By 'ethos' is meant the way of being, the habits of a group of individuals. On the question of expenditures, see Hennebelle D., "'La grande dépense et le fracas'. Recherches sur l'économie matérielle des patronages artistiques de l'aristocratie au tournant du XVIIe et du XVIIIe siècle", in Goulet A.M. (ed.), in coll. with Campos R. – da Vinha M. – Duron J., *Les Foyers artistiques à la fin du règne de Louis XIV (1682–1715). Musique et spectacles* (Turnhout: 2019) 29–36.

3 This research takes place with the program PerformArt (2016–2021), financed by the European Research Council: 'Promoting, Patronising and Practising the Arts in Roman Aristocratic Families (1644–1740). The Contribution of Roman Families' Archives to the

their twenty-three years of marriage, the duke and duchess spent only nine years together. The duchess returned to the French court twice: from 1676 to 1682, then from 1687 to 1695. The distance that separated the spouses during those periods represents a great opportunity for historians as it led to the production of an incredibly rich epistolary exchange, although it is only the duchess's letters that have been preserved.

I intend to concentrate on the ways in which the couple's lifestyle complied with a logic of prestige and distinction, and on the means they employed in pursuing this logic. My aim is to show that, while the sumptuary expenditures of Duke and Duchess of Bracciano might appear gratuitous, in reality, their Franco-Roman magnificence constituted an effective form of action.[4] What benefits, symbolic or real, did the ducal couple hope to gain from the spectacular entertainments they regularly organised? Should the performance of magnificence[5] and the spending policies adopted by the spouses be understood only as a result of their obedience to a genuine imperative imposed by the moral and social norms of the curial universe,[6] or do these policies reveal

History of Performing Arts' (Principal Investigator: Anne-Madeleine Goulet). See http://performart-roma.eu (accessed: 02.12.2019).

4 See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* Book 4, chapter 2; Pontano Giovanni, *I libri delle virtù sociali*, ed. F. Tateo (Rome: 1999). For more on this concept as it has been used by Renaissance art historians, and especially by those who study architecture, see in particular Fraser Jenkins A.D., "Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970), 162–170; Giordano L., "Edificare per magnificenza. Testimonianze letterarie sulla teoria e la pratica della committenza di corte", in Calzona A. – Fiore F.P. – Tenenti A. (eds.), *Il principe architetto* (Florence: 2002) 215–227; Lindow J.R., *The Renaissance Palace in Florence. Magnificence and Splendour in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Aldershot: 2007) 9–42. For a comprehensive discussion of the way in which the concept influenced Western European society, from Aristotle to Renaissance Humanist writers, see Guerzoni G., "Liberalitas, Magnificentia, Splendor: The Classic Origins of Italian Renaissance Lifestyles", *History of Political Economy*, 31, 5 (1999) 332–378. For an analysis of the way in which magnificence, which was, for Aristotle, a virtue tied to an ethics of spending for the common good, became in the Renaissance a private concern, see Koering J., *Le Prince en représentation. Histoire des décors du palais ducal de Mantoue au XVIe siècle* (Arles: 2013) 44–48.

5 Here I use the term "performance" not only to mean an "artistic event", but also to refer to an action that can transform the social, cultural and even political identity of its originators, whether those individuals were watching or being watched. See Schechner R., *Performance Theory* (London – New York: 1988); Spielmann G., "L'‘événement-spectacle'. Pertinence du concept et de la théorie de la performance", *Communications* 92 (2013) 193–204; Goulet A.-M. – Domínguez J.M. – Oriol É., *Spectacles et performances artistiques à Rome (1644–1740). Une analyse historique à partir des archives familiales* (forthcoming).

6 From the extensive literature on courtly society, which establishes an organic connection between power and art, should be cited Elias N., *The Court Society*, trans. E. Jephcott (Berlin:

a form of individual initiative that would have been in accordance with their personal tastes? Analysing this case study makes it possible to contribute to the debates about the essence of magnificence itself – debates that have been particularly lively since the Renaissance – and to examine the power dynamics involved in magnificence.[7]

1 A Roman Duke, a French Duchess

To begin with, a few words on the Duke of Bracciano, scion of the most powerful branch of the Orsini family, which had also produced popes and cardinals.[8] Since 1511, the Braccianos had shared with the Colonnas the dignified position of assistant princes to the papal throne, which authorised their representatives to alternately sit on the right of the pope during pontifical ceremonies.[9] In addition to his numerous fiefdoms, the Duke of Bracciano held the titles of Count Palatine, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire and Spanish Grande – the highest form of Spanish nobility. Since the Middle Ages, the history of the Orsini family had been marked by a constant effort to reconcile their allegiance to the King of France with their fidelity to the pontifical power.

For high-ranking aristocrats, magnificence was at this time a necessary expression of status – indeed, an imperative one, since military glory no longer entirely fulfilled this role.[10] Flavio Orsini evidently considered the display of magnificence as one of his most important social duties. In accomplishing this duty, he was aided by the authority of his lineage: the long-established importance of the Orsini family in Rome and the ancientness of its seigneurial

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1969; reprint, New York: 1983); Béguin K., *Les Princes de Condé. Rebelles, courtisans et mécènes dans la France du Grand Siècle* (Seyssel: 1999) 329–355.

7 See for example the panorama presented by Bernhard Schirg in "Cortese's ideal cardinal? Praising art, splendour and magnificence in Bernardino de Carvajal's roman residence", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (2017) 61–82, at 65–70.

8 See Colonna G.B., *Gli Orsini* (Milan: 1955) 190–219; Celletti V., *Gli Orsini di Bracciano. Glorie, tragedie e fastosità della casa patrizia più interessante della Roma dei secoli XV, XVI e XVII* (Rome: 1963); Ago R., "The Orsini and the Aesthetics of Everyday Life", *Viator* 39, 2 (2008) 381–399; see also Mori E., *L'Archivio Orsini. La famiglia, la storia, l'inventario* (Rome: 2016) 13–111.

9 See Cermakian M., *La Princesse des Ursins, sa vie et ses lettres* (Paris: 1969) 81.

10 Burke P., "Varieties of Performance in Seventeenth-Century Italy", in Gillgren P. – Snickare M. (eds.), *Performativity and Performance in Baroque Rome* (Farnham: 2012) 15–23, at 20.

rights and possessions.[11] The Duke chose as his principal residence the Pasquin Palace.[12] Situated on the southern side of the Piazza Navona, it represented an important symbolic asset as well as a financial one, a visible sign of the family's power within the city.[13] The Duke's rank naturally required a large household (*famiglia*) reflecting the importance of a duke's position within the social order.[14]

The family's various residences housed numerous works of art, collected over several generations, which both attested and contributed to the family's prestige.[15] As an eminent member of the Roman aristocracy, the Duke of Bracciano certainly didn't need to prove his nobility; it was, nevertheless, manifestly important for him to constantly exhibit his status and uphold his reputation.[16]

17 February 1675, soon after the death of his first wife Ippolita Ludovisi in 1674, Flavio Orsini married Marie-Anne de La Trémoille, twenty-two years his junior and widow of the Count of Chalais (d. ca. 1670).[17] Marie-Anne was born into an aristocratic family from the Poitou region of France whose roots could be traced back to the earliest knighthood.[18] The family's income came from

11 On Flavio Orsini's ancestors, aside from the work by Elisabetta Mori already cited, see Boyer F., "Le mécénat des Orsini au début du XVIIe siècle", *Dante* 10 (1934), 438–445; Allegrezza F., *Organizzazione del potere e dinamiche familiari. Gli Orsini dal Duecento agli inizi del Quattrocento* (Rome: 1998); Furlotti B., *A Renaissance Baron and his Possessions. Paolo Giordano I Orsini, Duke of Bracciano (1541–1585)* (Turnhout: 2012); Morucci V., *Baronial Patronage of Music in Early Modern Rome* (Abingdon-on-Thames: 2018).

12 See Goulet A.-M., "Music in Late Seventeenth-Century Rome. Palazzo Orsini as a Performance space", in Knighton Bolton T.W. – Mazuela Anguita A. (eds.), *Hearing the City in Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout: 2018) 219–228. Flavio Orsini also frequently sojourned in the Fortress of Bracciano, north of Rome. On this particular Orsini fiefdom, located thirty kilometres northwest of Rome, see Sigismondi F.L., *Lo stato degli Orsini. Statuti e diritto proprio nel ducato di Bracciano* (Rome: 2003); Carlino Bandinelli A., *Bracciano negli occhi della memoria* (Rome: 2004); Santocchi A., *Bracciano ai tempi della visita apostolica del 1574* (Manziana: 2013).

13 The only, brief historical study concerning the Palazzo Pasquino is found in Pietrangeli C., *Palazzo Braschi* (Rome: 1958) 15–20. Further information can be found in Pericoli Ridolfini C., *Guide rionali di Roma, Rione VI, Parione, Parte I* (Rome: 1969) 48.

14 For more on the servant numbers as a reliable indicator of the prince's greatness, see Mozzarelli C. (ed.), *"Famiglia" del principe e famiglia aristocratica* (Rome: 1988).

15 See Amendola A., *La collezione del principe Lelio Orsini nel palazzo di piazza Navona a Roma* (Rome: 2013).

16 See Visceglia M.A. (ed.), *La nobiltà romana in età moderna. Profili istituzionali e pratiche sociali* (Rome: 2001).

17 Cermakian M., *La Princesse des Ursins, sa vie et ses lettres* (Paris: 1969).

18 For a detailed history of the de La Trémoille family, see Cermakian, *La Princesse des Ursins* 19–43; Kmec S., *Across the Channel. Noblewomen in Seventeenth-Century France and England. A Study of the Lives of Marie de La Tour – Queen of the Huguenots – and Charlotte de La Trémoïlle, Countess of Derby* (Trier: 2010) 21–37.

their lands in Poitou and Brittany, and also from royal pensions. Before her first marriage, Marie-Anne had participated in the fashionable life of the most celebrated Parisian hôtels and enjoyed the delights of young Louis XIV's brilliant court. Three years after her marriage to the Count of Chalais in 1659, her husband was exiled to Spain, where she joined him in 1667. In 1670, she accompanied him to Venice, where he died of fever. Widowed at twenty-eight, she suddenly found herself, to borrow the words of the Duke of Saint-Simon (1675–1755), 'without possessions, without children, and as if without being'.[19]

In January 1673, she decided to settle in Rome. Two years later, she married the Duke of Bracciano. The marriage was orchestrated by the French ambassadors in Rome, the Estrées brothers, as part of Louis XIV's strategic policy regarding the pontifical court, which aimed at exerting influence through the princely houses of Rome.[20] Marie-Anne's perfect understanding of court protocol, prevailing rules of behaviour, the arts of conversational, rhetorical and epistolary communication, as well as the French, Spanish and Italian languages, suggested that she would be useful 'in many ways'.[21] Thus, from the very outset, the future duchess was assigned a role. Concerning the Duke of Bracciano's willingness to marry her, it seems that the Estrées brothers tricked him into believing that Marie-Anne was in possession of an immense fortune which would allow him to pay off at least some of the considerable debts built up by the Orsini family.[22]

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19 Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, ed. Y. Coirault, 8 vols. (Paris: 1982–1988), vol. 2, 51: 'sans bien, sans enfants, et comme sans être'.

20 On matrimonial negotiation as an essential dimension of international relations, see Brunner O., *Vita nobiliare e cultura europea* (Bologna: 1972); Bély L., *La société des princes* (*XVI*ᵉ*–XVIII*ᵉ *siècle*) (Paris: 1999); Yun Casalilla B., "Aristocratic Women across Borders, Cultural Transfers and Something More. Why should we care?", in Palos J.L. – Sánchez M.S. (eds.), *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer* (Burlington: 2016) 237–257, at 239: 'International marriages constituted one of the most powerful forces in Old Regime Europe's political history and was the factor that most closely affected international politics, war, peace treatises, and the formation of the political map, as well as European geopolitics'. See also Nolde D., "Princesses voyageuses au XVIIᵉ siècle. Médiatrices politiques et passeuses culturelles", *Clio* 28 (2008) 59–76.

21 'Avec l'estime et la considération extraordinaires qu'elle s'est acquise parmi un grand nombre de cardinaux et l'intelligence et le talent qu'elle a pour cette cour et pour le commerce des étrangers, elle fera la première figure dans Rome et sera propre à beaucoup de choses' (letter addressed 11 October 1674 from Rome to Pomponne by the duke of Estrées, Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Roman Archives, 232, fols. 425–426, quoted by Cermakian, *La Princesse des Ursins* 74, n. 199).

22 On the negotiations for the remarriage of Mᵐᵉ de Chalais, see Cermakian, *La Princesse des Ursins* 67–77. For an overview of the financial situation of the Roman nobility of the period, see Ferrero R.J., *The nobility of Rome, 1560–1700. A study of its composition, wealth, and investment*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Wisconsin: 1994). On the question of the debts of the Roman aristocracy, much can be learned from Delumeau J., "Le problème des

In matters of class and prestige, the Duke and the Duchess saw very much eye to eye.[23] They were equally convinced that the key to power lay in supporting all forms of ostentatious ceremony and consumption, patronising the arts and catering to a social elite that placed great importance on festivities aimed at celebrating family greatness.[24] They both recognised in the fine arts, music, theatre and dance the means of compensating for the Orsini family's diminishing political sway at the papal court – a decline caused by a series of financial disasters that the Duke had been unable to counter.[25] In the competitive context of Rome's polycentric court, musical and spectacular events served, very literally, to amplify the magnificence of their patrons.

In which respects did the Duke and Duchess differ?[26] Marie-Anne's correspondence, in which she systematically places herself on an equal footing with her husband, suggests that she perceived no innate inequality between the

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dettes à Rome au XVIe siècle", *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 4 (1957) 5–32. On the debts of the Orsini family, see Mori, *L'Archivio Orsini* 13–111.

23 On rank and precedence as expression of the social and curial order, see Cosandey F., *Le rang. Préséances et hiérarchies dans la France d'Ancien Régime* (Paris: 2016).

24 Veblen T., *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: 1899). On the history of the consumption of the elites and of court life, see for example Peck L.L., *Consuming Splendour: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: 2005). On the fact that art is not only a product but can also be a cause of wealth, see Goldthwaite R., *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy (1300–1600)* (Baltimore: 1993); Esch A., "Economia ed arte: la dinamica del rapporto nella prospettiva dello storico", in Cavaciocchi S. (ed.), *Economia e arte secc. XIII–XVIII secoli* (Florence: 2002) 21–49. On the recording of expenditures for celebrations and spectacles in the history of consumption, see Guerzoni G., *Apollo & Vulcano. The Art Markets in Italy (1400–1700)*; trans. A. George (Venice: 2006; reprint, Michigan: 2011) 107–199. For a study of music as a symbolic form of power, see Riepe J., "'Essential to the reputation and magnificence of such a high-ranking prince'. Ceremonial and Italian Opera at the Court of Clemens August of Cologne and other German Courts", in Bucciarelli M. – Dubowy N. – Strohm R. (eds.), *Italian Opera in Central Europe, I: Institutions and Ceremonies* (Berlin: 2006) 147–175.

25 Concerning their efforts, the importance of music in the duchess's letters is very revealing, see Boyer F., "La Princesse des Ursins et la musique italienne", *Revue musicale* 5, 6 (1954) 37–41. Several members of the elite Italian aristocracy behave in similar ways, see Tedesco A., "Mecenatismo musicale e distinzione sociale nell'Italia moderna", in Genet J.P. – Mineo E.I. (eds.), *Marquer la prééminence sociale* (Paris: 2014) 303–321. The phenomenon is also typical of the French aristocracy of the same period. See Béguin K., "Les enjeux et les manifestations du mécénat aristocratique", in Cessac C. – Couvreur M. (eds.), *La Duchesse du Maine (1676–1753). Une mécène à la croisée des arts et des siècles* (Bruxelles: 2003) 23–35.

26 This analysis is based on the letters Marie-Anne de La Trémoille sent to her husband, which are preserved at Rome's Archivio Storico Capitolino and Archivio di Stato. The Duke of Bracciano's missives, as I have already indicated, have unfortunately not been preserved.

faculties of men and women. If a difference between husband and wife existed, it should instead be sought in their national origins. In Rome, the Duchess deliberately flaunted a lifestyle *alla francese*, expressed through her fashion choices and interior decorating, as well as her social habits.[27] Although, in the early years of their marriage, the Duchess hosted *conversazioni*, together with the Duke, according to the aristocratic Roman tradition, from 1683 onwards she introduced a new style of reception, based on the *salon à la française*.[28] The goal of these assemblies was entertainment; nobles rubbed elbows with men of letters, and women's opinions and witticisms were much aired and admired.[29]

This innovation came in the wake of the Duchess's seven-year sojourn at the French court, where she had gone in 1676 to promote her and her husband's interests. While in Versailles, the Duchess had attended the magnificent, gallant evenings to which Louis XIV regularly treated his courtesans in his Grand Appartement, and his subtle alliance of games, dances and music may well have been the model for the evenings she started organising at the Pasquin Palace on her return to Rome.[30] The Duchess also brought back with her from France her younger sister, Louise-Angélique (1655–1698), having successfully negotiated her marriage to the Marquis of Belmonte (1650–1716).

27 On lavish spending as materialization of social superiority, see Paresys I. – Coquery N. (eds.), *Se vêtir à la cour en Europe (1400–1815)* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: 2011). See also Boucher S. – Laronde A.C. – Paresys I. (eds.), *Plein les yeux. Le spectacle de la mode / A Feast for the Eyes: Spectacular Fashions* (Milan: 2012).

28 The duchess was preceded by Maria Mancini who, in 1661, returned from the French court to marry the constable Colonna and who, until her departure from the Eternal City in 1672, displayed a *vivere alla francese* that strongly contrasted with local customs (see Celletti, *Gli Orsini di Bracciano* 204). On the Princess' salon, see Goulet A.-M., "Le cercle de la princesse des Ursins à Rome (1675–1701) : un foyer de culture française", *Seventeenth Century French Studies* 33 (2011) 60–71.

29 On the notion of entertainment, see Denis D., "Conversation et enjouement au XVIIe siècle. L'exemple de Madeleine de Scudéry", in Montandon A. (ed.), *Du Goût, de la conversation et des femmes* (Clermont-Ferrand: 1994) 111–129.

30 For more on the *soirées d'appartement* (evening entertainments) at Versailles, see Da Vinha M., *Le Versailles de Louis XIV* (Paris: 2009) 202. For our study, Louis XIV's following statement on royal festivities is worth citing *Mémoires for the Instruction of the Dauphin by Louis XIV*, ed. and trans. P. Sonnino (New York: 1970) 102: 'in regard to foreigners, when they see that a state is otherwise flourishing and orderly, what might be considered as superfluous expenses make a very favorable impression of magnificence, power, wealth, and greatness upon them'. In the mind of the king, magnificence was patently an instrument of government.

2 The Fabrication of Magnificence: Spending Resources and How to Deploy Them

Like many Roman families, the Orsinis of Bracciano suffered from endemic debt.[31] When, on his father's death in 1660, Flavio Orsini inherited the title of Duke of Bracciano, it came accompanied with all the family debts. What were his sources of income? Principally, landed rents and a series of benefits and pensions associated with honorary positions and fiefdoms, paid either in cash or kind. The family was also traditionally involved in the wool and silk industries, to which activities Flavio's uncle, Paolo Giordano II (1591–1656), had added iron works.[32]

The financial straits that Flavio Orsini found himself confronted with were linked to the *monti baronali* system in place in Rome at the time.[33] This financial system had been created in the sixteenth century with the aim of enabling aristocratic Roman families in financial difficulties to maintain a standard of living appropriate to their status. The *monte* was a sum of money placed under the responsibility of the general treasurer of the Apostolic Chamber. It was divided into parts termed *luoghi*; initially one *luogo* was worth a hundred scudi. Noble families had the right to request the use of this capital, pledging in exchange to pay it back with interest.[34] In 1671, Clement X (1590–1676) accorded Flavio Orsini the fifth *monte Orsini*; it amounted to 3000 *luoghi*, to

31 For a study of the indebtedness of old baronial families as exemplified by the case of the Caetani and the Colonna, see Visceglia M.A., "'Non si ha da equiparare l'utile quando vi fosse l'honore'. Scelte economiche e reputazione: intorno alla vendita dello stato feudale dei Caetani (1627)", in Visceglia M.A. (ed.), *La nobiltà romana in età moderna. Profili istituzionali e pratiche sociali* (Rome: 2001) 203–223; Raimondo S., "La rete creditizia dei Colonna di Paliano tra XVI e XVII secolo", in Visceglia, *La nobiltà romana* 225–253. On the economy in Rome during period, see Ago R., *Economia barocca. Mercato e istituzioni nella Roma del Seicento* (Rome: 1998). For a general study of the economics of the Ancien Régime, see Grenier J.Y., *L'économie d'Ancien Régime. Un monde de l'échange et de l'incertitude* (Paris: 1996).

32 The wealth of great Italian families was long derived from border control, animal husbandry (wool and hide businesses), as well as the wheat and salt businesses (Mori, *L'Archivio Orsini* 17).

33 From the bibliography on the system of the *monti baronali*, one can cite the recent article of Piola Caselli F., "Papal Finance, 1348–1848", in Caprio G. (ed.), *Handbook of Key Global Financial Markets, Institutions, and Infrastructure* (Boston: 2013) 207–220, at 211–213. For a broader perspective, see Stumpo E., *Il capitale finanziario a Roma fra cinque e seicento : contributo alla storia della fiscalità pontificia in età moderna, 1570–1660* (Milan: 1985).

34 The *monti baronali* could be seen as downright traps: families could borrow the sum by taking out market shares with interest, but the collaterals were provided by their landed properties. If the families could not pay the interest, secured by their agricultural revenue, they found themselves dispossessed of their properties. This is why, according to Piola

be reimbursed with a yearly interest of 4%, and was immediately distributed between numerous investors.[35]

In the case of the Orsinis, there was a very marked discrepancy between their personal splendour, their prestigious titles and honours, their large household, their magnificent palace, and their frequent charitable deeds on the one hand, and their ever-increasing debts, their ever-diminishing rents, and their equally diminishing political clout on the other.[36] Given the critical state of the family's finances, the fact that the ducal couple continued spending as they did clearly illustrates the extent to which social logic outweighed economic logic.[37] The level of magnificence the family maintained helped to safeguard its continued existence. Spending procured immediate fame and admiration; moreover, one can suppose that it was also meant to reassure creditors. Magnificence had the capacity to dazzle in the double sense carried by the word in the seventeenth century, that is to 'amaze' and 'enchant'.[38]

An archival document dated 27 March 1675 informs us that, since her marriage the previous month, the Duchess of Bracciano had received visits, but had not yet appeared in public; for this, she was awaiting the delivery of her carriages and her servants' livery, all paid for on credit:

> Seguitano tuttavia le visite alla signora duchessa di Bracciano, né ancora sua eccellenza si è lasciata vedere in publico, mettendosi in ordine per tal funtione nobilissime carrozze e livree che fanno piangere più d'un creditore che col tempo seguitando così non potrà haver luogo nella graduatione.

Caselli, the system slowly died out over the course of the 1670s. See Piola Caselli, "Papal Finance" 211–213.

35 The *monti baronali* were ordinarily named after the indebted family. In less than a century, between 1592 and 1671, the Orsinis created the *monte Orsini* no fewer than five times. See Masini R., *Il debito pubblico pontificio a fine Seicento. I monti camerali* (Rome: 2005) 108.

36 If the coexistence of ostentation and indebtedness was a typical phenomenon of seigneurial economies, the Orsini case seems particularly financially complicated because the family was in an urgent debt situation much worse than the majority of other Roman families.

37 See Elias, *The Court Society* 101: 'The estate-ethos of court people is not a disguised economic ethos, but something different in nature. To exist in the lustre of aloofness and prestige, i.e. to exist as a court person, is, for a court person, an end in itself'.

38 On the dazzling effect and the dual meaning of magnificence, mention should be made to Guyot S., *Les Scénographies de l'éblouissement. Théâtralités et adhésion au XVIIe siècle* (Paris (forthcoming)).

> The visits to the Duchess of Bracciano continue however, since Her Excellency has not yet appeared in public: to this end, splendid carriages and liveries have been ordered, which are causing tears to be shed by more than one creditor who, with the passing time, fear they shall never be repaid.[39]

To receive the 'cream' of the local aristocracy in suitable style, Marie-Anne invested unstintingly in sumptuary expenditure, eminently distinctive in socio-cultural terms.[40] On 30 April 1675, Flavio Orsini signed a payment order requesting his tax collector, Achille Tertii, to reimburse himself 1000 scudi that he had advanced to pay for clothes to be made for the Duchess[41] – a small fortune, as can be seen by comparing the sum with the monthly wage of 13.58 scudi received by the Orsinis' *maestro di camera* in 1672, already a high salary at the time.[42]

If Flavio Orsini had married his wife imagining that her dowry was going to set him on the way to resolving his financial difficulties, he was rapidly disillusioned. Unsurprisingly, disagreements quickly arose between the couple. An *avviso* dated 18 December 1675 informs us that, less than a year into their marriage, the Duke decided to dismiss part of his household staff to reduce outlay and leave Rome for his Fortress at Bracciano to escape his creditors.[43] Several months later, in a letter the duchess, who had returned to Rome, wrote over the course of June 1676 to her husband (still in Bracciano at the time), the difficulty of his situation becomes clear:

> È assai più odioso di vedervi *continuamente esposto all'importunità de' vostri creditori* quando non li potete acchetare e vi pèrdono di maniera il rispetto, che voi mi havete liberamente confessato che non potete suffrirli, e che *vi pare d'andare al supplicio* quando venite in Roma et allhora che vi sete fatto *serrare le porte del vostro palazzo* come che temeste di qualch'insulto, e ne uscite con carrozze e sèguito sì puoco conforme

39 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Barberiniano Latino*, b. 6380, c. 85*rv*. The *graduazione* mentions the scheduling of creditors, i.e. the operation that consists of establishing their rank and the importance of their rights in relation to one another.

40 See Ago R., "Le stanze di Olimpia. La principessa Giustiniani Barberini e il linguaggio delle cose", in Cantù F. (ed.), *I linguaggi del potere nell'età barocca*, 2 vols. (Rome: 2009), vol. 2, 171–195.

41 Rome, Archivio Storico Capitolino, *Archivio Orsini*, II serie, b. 1340, p. 35, order of payment n° 153.

42 See Calcaterra F., *Corti e cortigiani nella Roma barocca* (Rome: 2004) 110.

43 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Barberiniano Latino*, b. 6380, c. 592*v*.

a quel che vi conviene, che niuno vi riconoscerebbe giamai per quel che sete.[44]

It is much more odious to see you constantly exposed to the importunity of your creditors when you cannot appease them and they lose respect toward you because of this, when you freely confessed to me that you could not suffer them and that it seemed like torture to you when you come to Rome and that now you have the doors of your palace closed as if you feared some insult, and you go out only in carriage and with a train so unsuited to your rank that no one would ever recognize you for who you are.

In October 1676, the Duchess also left Rome, her destination – as I have already mentioned – being Paris. Her objective in going there was double: firstly, to improve her and her husband's financial circumstances by obtaining the payment of her dowry and the transfer to her husband's name of the pension attributed by the French crown to the dukes of Bracciano since 1647;[45] secondly, to make sure that Orsini's right to the title of 'Highness' was recognised by the French court and that they were acknowledged as 'foreign princes'.[46] By 1679, she had succeeded in procuring the inheritance left her by her first husband, in the form of cash and a life annuity – the latter which would henceforth allow her to enjoy a certain financial independence.[47] She was, however, still waiting to receive the remaining 170 000 liras of her dowry, when her mother suddenly died leaving her entire estate in the hands of creditors.[48] The Duchess also failed to obtain the payment of the Orsini pensions, but, after seven years of negotiation, she did manage to have the Orsinis recognised as foreign princes – a right which she notably sought to affirm by ostentatiously adopting the appearance and behaviour of a Roman duchess belonging to a wealthy and powerful family.

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44 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Barberiniano Latino*, b. 4884, cc. 72*r*–75*v*.

45 See Mori, *L'Archivio Orsini* 80.

46 On the importance of titles among the French nobility, see Cosandey, *Le rang*, and, more precisely on the ambiguities of the status of foreign prince, 320–324, 441 and 457. See also Spangler J., "Les Princes étrangers. Truly Princes? Truly Foreign? Typologies of Princely Status, Trans-Nationalism and Identity in Early Modern France", in Wrede M. – Bourquin L. (eds.), *Adel und Nation in der Neuzeit: Hierarchie, Egalität und Loyalität 16–20. Jahrhundert* (Ostfildern: 2016) 117–141; Goulet A.-M., "Marie-Anne de La Trémoille, duchesse de Bracciano : retour d'exil et changement d'identité (1676–1682)", *Rabutinages* 27 (2018) 13–27.

47 See Cermakian, *La Princesse des Ursins* 76, n. 200.

48 Ibidem, 75–76.

In the letters she wrote to her husband from Paris, the Duchess enjoined him to sell his lands, which he finally resolved to do:[49]

> Je ne me réjouirais pas moins si vos affaires commençaient à prendre un bon train pour s'ajuster. Vous m'en parlez dans votre dernière [lettre] comme d'une chose qui doit arriver au premier jour. Je la désire si ardemment que je n'ose me flatter de l'espérance que vous m'en donnez, et *je serai incrédule sur cette matière jusqu'à ce que je voie que vous ayez commencé par une vente considérable d'une de vos terres*.

> I would not be less happy if your affairs began to go in the direction of improving. You wrote me about it in your last [letter] as something that must happen immediately. I desire it so ardently that I do not dare flatter myself with the hope that you give me, and *I will be skeptical on this matter until I see that you have begun with a considerable sale of your lands*.[50]

She never once, however, encouraged him to adjust his expenses to match his income or even simply to spend less. This total absence of any incitation to parsimony reveals the 'consumption psychology' typical of the aristocratic conception of wealth management at the time, which, as Guido Guerzoni has shown, was entirely resistant to the notion of budget balance.[51]

3 Performances as Significant, Ostensible Expenses

Between 1683, when the Duchess returned to Rome, and 1686, when she again set off for the French court, more than ten spectacular events were organised at the Pasquin Palace. In February 1683, Scarlatti's opera *L'Arsate* was performed five times, in alternation with a comedy by Flavio Orsini, *La Dama di*

49 In reality Flavio Orsini and his brother Lelio, beginning in the early 1670s, had entered into a policy of liquidation of the family properties (Oriolo, Viano, Cervetteri …) that would progressively expand to their other properties (Vicovaro, Palo, Trevignano, Anguillara …). In 1678, Flavio Orsini was even forced to sell his palace in Rome, but he did not find a buyer at the price that he was asking (see Cermakian, *La Princesse des Ursins* 115).

50 Rome, Archivio Storico Capitolino, *Archivio Orsini*, 1ª serie, b. 302–01, 0089 (31 December 1677).

51 Guerzoni, *Apollo & Vulcan* 133. I would like to stress the importance, in pursuing this line of research, of taking into account economic history. In the same way that "new art history", which has already merged paths with social history, is currently doing the same with economic history, it seems to me imperative that historians of performing arts increasingly initiate collaborations with historians of economy.

spirito geloso, on a stage specially constructed for the occasion.[52] This event was held to celebrate the birth of the Duke of Burgundy, the first son of the Dauphin of France, and, conjointly, the return of Marie-Anne from her first trip to France in the company of her younger sister, Louise-Angélique. The latter had just been married by proxy to Antonio Lante, Marquis of Belmonte, and it was he who principally paid for the festivities. In November 1683, Flavio Orsini organised the staging of a *Dialogo per musica*, the libretto of which he had composed himself and had published, in a print run of two-hundred copies, to celebrate the liberation of Vienna and the victory over the Turks.[53] In January 1684, Marie-Anne's French ladies-in-waiting acted in plays, and the following year, during carnival, the same ladies performed Molière's *Tartuffe* in French.[54] A musical comedy, *Più timore che danno*, written by Domenico Filippo Contini and dedicated to the Dauphin of France, was also staged in 1685,[55] and in November, rehearsals of one of Flavio Orsini's plays were underway, English dances were organised,[56] and two female singers sang madrigals during *conversazioni*.[57] As the finale to the 1686 carnival, the Duchess had staged, at her own cost, *une bizara comedia*, which was followed by a banquet during which several of the principal ladies of Rome danced.[58] In April 1686, the Duke staged a musical dialogue, based on one of his own libretti, *Il Tebro e la Gloria*, in honour of the arrival of the Duke of Mantua in Rome;[59] the same year, the Duchess organised an Academy of Music and Song in the palace to celebrate the 'conversion' of the Huguenots.[60] The Duke and Duchess thus regularly spent large sums of money on spectacular events, notably favouring Italian music and French theatre.

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52 See Goulet A.-M., "Costumes, décors et machines dans *L'Arsate* (1683) d'Alessandro Scarlatti. Contribution à l'histoire de l'opéra romain au XVIIe siècle", *XVIIe siècle* 262 (2014) 139–166.

53 [Orsini Flavio], *Dialogo per musica nella vittoria ottenuta dall'armi christiane contro l'ottomane all'assedio di Vienna* (Bracciano, Bernabò: 1683).

54 Staffieri G., *Colligite Fragmenta. La vita musicale romana negli "Avvisi Marescotti" (1683–1707)* (Lucca: 1990) 57 and 62.

55 Published libretto: see Franchi S., *Le Impressioni Sceniche – Dizionario bio-bibliografico degli editori e stampatori romani e laziali di testi drammatici e libretti per musica dal 1579 al 1800*, 2 vols. (Rome: 1994), vol. 1, 51.

56 Rome, Archivio di Stato, *Archivio Lante della Rovere*, b. 304, bundle 20, fasc. 10, n° 14 (letter to Louise-Angélique de La Trémoille from Monsieur de Fruges, dated 26th November 1685).

57 Rome, Archivio Storico Capitolino, *Archivio Orsini*, IIa series, reg. 1881, p. 193, p. 199, n° 878 (22nd March 1686).

58 Staffieri, *Colligite Fragmenta* 67.

59 Published libretto: [Orsini Flavio], *Il Tebro e la Gloria, Dialogo per Musica Nella Venuta dell'Altezza Serenissima del Signor Duca di Mantova in Roma* (Bracciano, Bernabò: 1686).

60 Vatican, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Segreteria di Stato, Avvisi, 49, c. 115*v*.

One of the most challenging tasks faced by historians of performing arts is evaluating the cost of spectacular events within the annual expenditure of the families who organised them. For their accounting, these families employed specialised personnel that kept their account books in a very precise manner, as testified by the thousands of transactions that are recorded in them.[61] These books provided the families with very useful information on their degree of indebtedness, the size of their holdings, and the state of their income, and the books show that while the families were quite capable of determining what they were spending, the state of their finances remained subject to non-economical imperatives, such as that of magnificence. The generally extremely complex information provided by these accounting documents is often very incomplete, making it difficult for researchers to understand the significance of the considerable number of transactions, and in particular if there might be elements missing from the equation – the account balance sheets, frequently kept on separate pages, have often disappeared – or if it is impossible to determine whether outstanding debts were paid. In addition, each accountant had his own conventions, often very different from modern standards. These account books were both very well kept and imperfect, leaving many unanswerable questions.

However, by comparing the sums spent on certain specific performances and stage sets, it is possible to obtain an idea of the sums involved in these displays of magnificence. The well-documented productions of *L'Arsate* and *La Dama di spirito geloso* provide good examples. In 1682, Antonio Lante, Marquis of Belmonte, the principal financer of these festivities, laid out 99,80 scudi for their preparations;[62] in 1683, he spent another 2882,24 scudi and ½ baiocchi.[63] Since the Lante family's palace did not lend itself to the staging of large shows, the Marquis arranged with his brother-in-law to use the Pasquin Palace, which contained a *sala maestra* vast enough to accommodate the construction of a temporary stage and seating.

Within the global sum spent by Lante, the breakdown between materials costs and payments for work is unclear. What is clear, however, is how much the various groups of artists and artisans received. The hired musicians, for example, were collectively paid 810,70 scudi.[64] The composer and conductor of the orchestra, Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725), received a silver bowl (*bacile*

61 See Guerzoni, *Apollo & Vulcan* 111.

62 Rome, Archivio di Stato, *Archivio Lante della Rovere*, b. 1337, c. 363.

63 Rome, Archivio di Stato, *Archivio Lante della Rovere*, b. 1338, c. 110.

64 Rome, Archivio di Stato, *Archivio Lante della Rovere*, b. 191/II.

d'argento), worth 116 scudi, and a dozen pairs of gloves,[65] each worth 3 scudi. The leading singers were also paid in precious objects rather than cash: the castrato, Giuseppe Antonio Sansone, received a storied bowl (*bacile historiato*) worth 71,50 scudi. The fact that these artists received gifts and not a salary proves that they enjoyed a particular status, one very close to that of the noble members of the Lante family.[66] If they wished, these artists were at liberty to come to the Zecca to exchange these gifts with a small fee for cold, hard cash.

The orchestral musicians were paid in cash: Arcangelo Corelli, for example, received 36 scudi. The dancers received only 30 scudi, which is perhaps explained by the fact that many of them were pageboys (*signori paggi*) in the service of the Lante family. Artists who were already on the families' payrolls (*ruoli*) were not paid as much as the others – for these performances, it sufficed to pay them a salary supplement. As for the artisans and material elements, this table shows the main expenses:

Artisans	**Sums involved**
Carpenters	762 scudi
Scenery painters	300 scudi
Lighting	247.23 scudi
Costumes	616.33 scudi
Shoes	101.59 scudi
Decorative sculptures	124.06 scudi

65 On the tradition of scented gloves, see Frutos L. de, "Paintings, Fans, and Scented Gloves. A Witness to Cultural Exchange at the Courts of Paris, Rome, and Madrid", in Palos J.L. – Sánchez M.S. (eds.), *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer* (Burlington: 2016) 189–212.

66 In his study on Atto Melani, Roger Freitas follows the steps, from 1653 onward, of the castrato's integration into Ferdinand III's imperial court and notes the favourable treatment the young man enjoyed: by offering him presents (an expensive necklace, a medallion), the emperor proved that he did not consider him to be a professional performer on loan from Tuscany but rather from the outset as a musician of his entourage (*retinue*). 'To receive gifts like a gentleman rather than be paid like a laborer just confirmed Atto's position' (Freitas R., *Portrait of a Castrato. Politics, Patronage, and Music in the Life of Atto Melani* (Cambridge: 2009) 84). I would like to thank Élodie Oriol for having drawn my attention to this example. On the exchange of precious objects as a fundamental practice of aristocratic culture of the period tied to the concept of friendship, see Starobinski J., *Largesse* (Paris: 1994); Davis N.Z., *The gift in 16th century France* (Madison: 2000).

All in all, the show cost 3552,63 scudi.[67] A staggering sum at the time. Evidently the expenses tied to magnificence were not a luxury: it was not possible to cut them from the budget as soon as economic difficulties arose. Why, one may ask, run up debts for something so transient?[68] But then, it is also worth asking: how transient was the effect of magnificence? The impact of spectacular events clearly passed through several different channels:[69] for all those who attended them, the collective experience of the events resulted in a lasting memory; the spoken and written accounts which inevitably followed, and which rarely failed to embellish the experience, went on to spread knowledge of the events and amplify their prestige; finally, the publication of libretti, containing the words and lyrics of the plays and airs, provided tangible records of the performances.[70] Through all these means, these apparently ephemeral events attached themselves, as it were, to the families' heritage. Propagated by the spoken and written word, magnificence could endure well beyond the specific events. Nevertheless, maintaining a family's magnificence required constant effort – hence the Orsinis' relentless programme of festivities.

4 Final Thoughts

The Orsini case allows us to compare the personal attitudes and actions of the Duke and Duchess of Bracciano in matters of prestige and importance, to discern the *modus operandi* they shared, and to appreciate the important cultural

67 To understand the considerable size of the sum, information concerning average salaries of the period should be mentioned (see Spear R.E. – Sohm P. (eds.), *Painting for Profit. The Economic Lives of Seventeenth-Century Italian Painters* (New Haven – London: 2010) 36–37): in the 1660s, a *muratore*, i.e. a qualified mason, received fifty *baiocchi* per day, and 121 *scudi* per year. In 1658 a university professor in Rome earned around 166 *scudi* annually. To maintain an appropriate standard of living in Rome at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a cardinal needed to have at least 8000 *scudi* per year at his disposal.

68 See Guerzoni, *Apollo & Vulcan* 297–301. See also Esch A., "Sul rapporto fra arte ed economia nel Rinascimento italiano", in Esch A. – Frommel C.L. (eds.), *Arte, committenza ed economia a Roma e nelle corti del Rinascimento 1420–1530* (Turin: 1995) 3–49, and in particular 30.

69 On the economic impact of operas on artists' and artisans' revenues, see Murata M., "*Theatri intra theatrum*, or The Church and the Stage in 17th-Century Rome", in Forney K. – Katz D. (eds.), *Sleuthing the Muse: Essays in Honor of William F. Prizer* (Hillsdale: 2012) 181–200.

70 See Bolduc B., *La Fête imprimée – Spectacles et cérémonies politiques (1549–1662)* (Paris: 2016).

and political mediation between Versailles and Rome effected by the Duchess' salon *à la française* in the Pasquin Palace.

Magnificence as conceived by the Orsini spouses was part of family strategies and, more generally, of local and international rivalries. This magnificence went far beyond gratuitous gesture and required significant material resources. It corresponded with specific motivations because it produced tangible effects on the balances of local and global power. In the Roman context and, more broadly, in that of the Italian peninsula – deeply marked by the intensity of the links that local elites traditionally maintained with foreign powers – magnificence had political implications and a transnational dimension.

As partisans of the French faction in Rome, the Duke and Duchess of Bracciano were constantly obliged to deal with both the rivalry and the interdependence that existed between the French crown and the papal tiara – a situation rendered particularly delicate by Louis XIV's hostility toward any encroachment by Rome on his sovereignty. Flavio Orsini, torn apart between these two allegiances, would end up renouncing his support for the French crown in 1688, while his spouse, toward the end of 1687, returned for several years to the Court of Versailles in order to seek support for herself from Louis XIV.

This international rivalry between two political entities offers the possibility of comparing their respective uses of magnificence, while analysing the cultural transfers that it promoted through the interplay of transnational elites who employed political competition for the purpose of social affirmation while simultaneously promoting their own knowledge, abilities and personal tastes.

An instrument of power at the local level developed in the context of Roman interfamily rivalries, magnificence was a locally-used tool because it enabled the creation of privileged links with foreign entities – sources of power and income. At the same time, such foreign entities actively supported these magnificent activities because they were part of a policy of cultural affirmation motivated by another rivalry – geopolitical this time – between European powers. The Orsini case thus brings to light practices that were part of strategies designed to shape both Roman and European power balances.

Finally, the study of the Orsini case reveals an altogether instrumental magnificence manifestly unobstructed by any moral obligation. A unique example, a sign of the concept's evolution, or its uses over the course of time? To answer this question, the actions of Flavio Orsini and his spouse should be compared with those of other great Roman aristocratic families of the period in light of the power issues and financial resources at stake, all the while ensuring that the analysis is carried out at different scales.

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CHAPTER 6

The Magnificence of the Royal Household and Royal Sites: The Case of the Spanish Monarchy

Félix Labrador Arroyo and José Eloy Hortal Muñoz

1 Introduction

The Spanish monarchs, by maintaining big royal households and building impressive royal sites, which were a means of acquiring prestige, fame and reputation in the eyes of other princes, performed their magnificence, and thus reflected their power.[1] Since the place where the prince ruled over his family, which included his relatives and the nobles who served in his household, was the very centre from which the kingdom was ruled – as Giles of Rome (1243–1316) put it in the thirteenth century – the size and sumptuousness of the household and royal sites were among the most frequently mentioned criteria used to express royal magnificence.[2] In this regard, the seventeenth-century Spanish chronicler Alonso Núñez de Castro (1627–1695) pointed out in his work *Sólo Madrid es Corte y el cortesano en Madrid* (Only Madrid is the Court and the Courtier in Madrid) (1658) that:

> De escalera abajo tiene hoy nuestro Príncipe criados que los envidiaran para sus antesalas los mayores monarcas del Orbe. Es servido en los ministerios mayores de los que a título de su sangre nacieron para mandar el mundo, sólo para obedecer a nuestro Filipo. Tan apacible es su lado, tan interesal su vista, tan fructuosas sus sombras, que los mayores señores tienen por castigo el que los envíen a ser cabezas en otros reinos, queriendo más, con discreta elección, estar a los pies de nuestro Monarca que mandar opulentas provincias.

1 This essay has been funded as part of the project "La herencia de los reales sitios. Madrid, de corte a capital (Historia, Patrimonio y Turismo)" (H2015/HUM3415) of the 2015 Madrid Community Call for R & D in Social Sciences and Humanities, funded by the FSE and MINECO-FEDER-UE Excellence Project "Del patrimonio dinástico al patrimonio nacional: los Sitios Reales" (HAR2015-68946-C3-3-P).

2 Fantoni M., *Il potere dello spazio. Principe e città nell'Italia dei secoli XV–XVII* (Rome: 2002).

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> Today, our Prince has servants below stairs who would be the envy of the greatest monarchs in the World for their antechambers. He is served in the most important ministries by those who, given their blood, were born to rule the world, only to obey our Philip. So kindly is his favour, so interested his gaze, so fruitful his shadows, that the greatest lords take it as a punishment when they are sent to be the heads of other kingdoms, preferring rather, with discreet choice, to be at the feet of our Monarch than to rule over opulent provinces.[3]

This essay will examine the way the Spanish monarchs used the royal households to represent their power and moral authority as *pater familias*, based on the late medieval and early modern reception of Aristotle that compared the rule of a king over his kingdom with that of the father over his family. The size and beauty of the royal sites, which included palaces that housed the king's servants and its surroundings, were a feature of their magnificence. In the first section we shall analyse the way magnificence was related to the royal palaces and households in the works of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish authors. In order to make clear the political dimension of this display of magnificence, in the second section we will address the role of the royal household in the development of the political organization of the Spanish Habsburg Monarchy. In the last section we shall tackle the economic dimension of the maintenance of a magnificent household within this Spanish context.

2 On Sumptuous Palaces and Large Households

It might be striking for us that this display of splendour in palaces and the maintenance of large and costly households was applauded by early modern Spanish authors as a reason to praise the king. But although today showing off wealth is seldom interpreted in moral terms, the early modern reception of classical ethics, above all of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, makes this understandable. From the Aristotelian perspective, virtue was expressed outwardly in a person's actions, which meant living their life in accordance with the rules of decorum. Aristotle was widely read in seventeenth-century court societies in the whole of Europe, but certainly in Spain, and his ideas on magnificence as a virtue were eagerly appropriated in the practice and theory of the royal households and royal sites.

3 Núñez de Castro, *Solo Madrid es Corte* 444–445.

Following the logic of an estate-based society, a prince's household and residence had to match his status, avoiding on the one hand the extreme of vulgar ostentation, which was a vice and implied inordinate expense and the tyranny of imposing burdensome taxes on his subjects, and on the other, living in wretched circumstances that were not in accord with princely dignity. The beauty of the royal sites and the harmonious organization of the household, therefore, were interpreted in moral and political terms. In the same way that good manners expressed the internal moral qualities of the courtly aristocracy, so the architectural beauty of the palaces that housed the royal servants reflected virtuous and harmonious royal rule.[4]

As the Aristotelian golden mean was a subjective criterion, medieval and early modern Christian authors could define magnificence according to their ideological and political positions. Biblical examples, such as Solomon's temple, palace and court, were held up as ideal models that underlined the religious dimension of magnificence. Examples from classical history that opened up a more secular interpretation were also used, such as the cities founded and built by Alexander the Great (356 BCE–323 BCE).[5] In descriptions of the Spanish royal sites and their households references to these biblical and classical examples can both be found.

Fray Marco Antonio de Camos y Recasens (1544–1606), the Prior of the Convent of St. Augustine in Barcelona and future Governor of Sardinia, in a treatise written in 1592, based his description of the qualities that the king's household ought to possess on the Holy Scriptures; he pointed out that it should be like the court of King Solomon, who was the wisest and richest of the kings of Israel, so much so in fact that his riches and splendour caused awe and admiration among the neighbouring monarchs.[6] The Habsburg household in Madrid met this criterion, since it was one of the most splendid and numerous as far as the body of officers was concerned, the most important of all the European dynastic monarchies, as well as the key element that had held together the different territories that made up the monarchy from the times of Charles V (1500–1558) and integrated their elites.[7]

4 Versteegen G., *Corte y Estado en la historiografía liberal. Un cambio de paradigma* (Madrid: 2015) *passim.*

5 Guerzoni G., "Liberalitas, magnificentia, splendor: the classic origins of Italian Renaissance Lifestyles", in De Marchi N. – Goodwin C.W. (eds.), *Economic Engagements with Art* (Durham and London: 1999) 332–378, esp 340–346.

6 Camos y Recasens M.A., *Microcosmia y Govierno Vniversal del hombre Christiano para todos los Estados y cualquiera de ellos* (Barcelona: 1592) 117.

7 Martínez Millán J., "The triumph of the Burgundian household in the Monarchy of Spain. From Philip the Handsome (1502) to Ferdinand VI (1759)", in Paravicini W. (ed.), *La cour*

The magnificence of the royal households and royal sites applied both to the monarch's place of residence and to its surroundings, as was made clear from the description of the magnificence of Philip II by the priest and historian, Baltasar Porreño (1569–1639) who pointed out that:

> Si queremos echar mano de las espensas y gastos que hizo en cosas magníficas, hablen sus obras, pues avrán de quedar cortas qualesquier palabras; hablen los edificios, los alcázares, los templos, los bosques, los jardines y otras cosas que, por ser obras de su real magnificencia, están dando vozes, manifestando la excelencia incomparable de su real pecho.
>
> If we want to make much of all his expenditure on magnificent things, let his works speak for themselves, for all words will fall short; let the buildings speak, the palaces, the temples, the forests, the gardens, and other things that, because they are works of his royal magnificence, are crying out, expressing the incomparable excellence of his royal breast.[8]

Porreño not only listed buildings, palaces and temples, but also gardens and forests, and justified the works carried out during the reign of the king on the grounds of their royal magnificence and because they were in accord with princely *decorum*:

> En la obra de San Lorenzo el Real, gastó su Magestad seis millones (autor ay que dize se gastaron veinte y cinco) y los que calumnian este gasto pecan de necios y de apocados, que no consideran que Alexandro, que no fue magno respecto de Filipo Segundo, fundo diez o doce ciudades, y una d'ellas para sepoltura de su caballo Bucéphalo; la Reyna de Candía edificó para sepoltura de su marido aquel mausoleo que fue una de las maravillas del mundo. Todo cesse con las grandezas de Filipo y con edificar casa para Dios.
>
> On the construction of San Lorenzo el Real, His Majesty spent six million (some authors say that twenty-five million were spent) and those who unjustly criticise this expense are guilty of being foolish and petty-minded, who do not consider that Alexander, who was not great in

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de Bourgogne et l'Europe. Le rayonnement et les limites d'un modèle culturel (Ostfildern: 2013) 745–771.

8 Porreño B., *Dichos y hechos del señor rey don Felipe segundo. El prudente, potentíssimo y glorioso monarca de las Españas y de las Indias* (Madrid: 2001) 95–113 (ed. Paloma Cuenca).

> comparison to Philip the Second, founded ten or twelve cities, one of them for the tomb of his horse Bucephalus; for her husband's tomb, the Queen of Candia built that mausoleum, which was one of the wonders of the world. Everything pales into insignificance with the grandeur of Philip and his building a house for God.[9]

According to Porreño, those who criticized the enormous costs of the construction of San Lorenzo de El Escorial forgot that Philip II's majesty, just like Alexander the Great's, was reflected in his building activities. These were even more laudable in the case of the Spanish king, as his palace was raised in honour of God, thereby doing justice to his title of Catholic king, which the Spanish monarchs bore since the times of Ferdinand (1452–1516) and Isabella (1451–1504).

Although the relationship between magnificent expense and the common good may seem more obvious in the context of the construction of walls for the defence of cities, or hospitals, royal highways, or factories, the magnificence of the palaces where the monarch, his family, his court and royal household resided, as well as the adjacent territories, acquired a moral sense that reflected the good governance of the prince. The royal sites, after all, were the most important spaces of power of the prince and his court. Porreño refers to this aspect once again in his work, stating that Philip II 'perfeccionó el Palacio de Madrid con pinturas y jardines de recreación, a propósito de alegrar la vista y recrear el ánimo [...]. Hizo las cavallerizas y puso la Armería encima d'ellas con grande adorno y grandeza' – 'improved the Palace in Madrid with paintings and recreational gardens to gladden the eye and raise the spirits [...]. He built the stables and placed the Armoury above them with great ornamentation and majesty'.[10]

The royal sites with their households were micro-societies that articulated the European dynastic monarchies in general politically through client networks – although in this essay we focus on the Spanish monarchy.[11] For this reason, Núñez de Castro emphasised that the magnificence of Philip IV (1605–1665) was not just confined to his palaces, the richness of his wardrobe and outward adornment, but also extended to his entourage of servants and guards who took part in the most important courtly ceremonies 'No puede negarse, que los Palacios sumptuosos, ya en la hermosura de la fábrica, ya en la riqueza

9 Porreño, *Dichos y hechos* 95.

10 Ibidem, 113.

11 Regarding the European perspective, see Adamson J. (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe, 1500–1750: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime, 1500–1750* (London: 1999).

de los atavios, son adorno, que hazen plausible la Magestad, como también el acompañamiento de Guardas, criados y confidentes, que sirven a las ceremonias de respeto' – 'It cannot be denied that sumptuous Palaces, whether in the beauty of their construction, or the richness of the decorative objects, are an adornment, which make Majesty worthy of applause, as do the accompanying Guards, servants and confidants who serve at the ceremonies of respect'.[12]

It was precisely the number of Philip IV's attendants and servants that made him a great monarch, one with whom other sovereigns could not compete, the same one who, in 1651, established the etiquettes and courtly ceremonial of the most powerful of monarchies.[13] This adulation makes sense given the currency of the idea that Philip IV's rule over his family mirrored the way the monarchy was ruled. The Spanish court was the political centre of the monarchy and a space where the Spanish elites were integrated in shared royal service and given offices in both the royal administration and the household. Núñez de Castro recounted the array of titles, offices and posts that the Spanish monarch provided in the religious sphere and administration. He also referred to the palaces, indicating among other things:

> Doy a algunos de los demás monarcas igual, o sea superior magnificencia en las fábricas materiales de los palacios, en la sumptuosidad de los alcázares, aunque tuviera el apoyo de grandes artífices si dijera que el nuestro [de Felipe II], ni en la hermosura ni en el arte no tiene por qué ceder a los más famosos del Orbe.
>
> I grant some of the other monarchs may have equal or perhaps superior magnificence in the material structures of their palaces, in the sumptuousness of their castles, although I would have the support of great master craftsmen if I were to say that ours [Philip II's] has no reason to yield either in beauty or in art to the most famous in the World.[14]

Magnificence, therefore, was visually expressed through the number of officers in the royal household, as well as in the ceremonial and etiquettes of the

12 Núñez de Castro A., *Libro histórico político. Sólo Madrid es corte y el cortesano en Madrid* [Book of Political History: Only Madrid is the Court and the Courtier in Madrid] (Madrid: 1658) 'Libro primero, capítulo séptimo. Lustre y Magnificencia de la Casa Real', fol. 14v.

13 Núñez de Castro, *Libro histórico político.* Similarly, Labrador Arroyo F., "La formación de las Etiquetas Generales de Palacio en tiempos de Felipe IV. La Junta de Etiquetas, reformas y cambios en la Casa Real", in Hortal Muñoz J.E. – Labrador Arroyo F. (eds.), *La Casa de Borgoña. La casa del rey de España* (Leuven: 2014) 99–127.

14 Núñez de Castro A., *Solo Madrid es corte*, in *Lemir* 19 (2015) 441 (ed. by E. Suárez Figaredo).

court and in the palaces and their surroundings, all reflecting the virtue of the king as *pater familias*. Studying the royal households and royal sites as manifestations of the virtue of magnificence makes it possible to show how Spanish princes sought to express their moral excellence as sovereigns in their various internal and external spaces given over to religious practices, politics or entertainment, among other activities. In addition, the etiquettes, ordinances and ceremonial set out not only to regulate the services of the households of the king, queen and *infantes*, to protect the monarch and – as some authors have pointed out – project a quasi-divine image of the sovereign, the very embodiment of magnificence and humanity, but also to establish the parcels of power of each department or section and of their officers.[15]

3 The Political Role of the Royal Sites and Royal Households: the Case of the Spanish Monarchy

Until recently, royal sites and households were of hardly any interest to historians and on the few occasions they were touched upon, they were considered from an institutional point of view and studied as a mere accumulation of lists, offices and names; in effect, scholars extrapolated from the realities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, imposing them on the early modern era.[16] Royal sites and households, however, were much more than lists, offices and names, and, fortunately, in the past four decades, they have started to be considered within the context of the late medieval and early modern discourses that shaped and justified royal power.[17]

Since then, the court and its parts, the royal household and sites, have started to be studied and interpreted in terms of political organisation and as a socialisation space that began in the late Middle Ages, consolidated in the sixteenth century, and matured in the seventeenth before going into crisis in the eighteenth century.[18] In this context, the court came with a rationale and

15 For this process, see Bouza Álvarez F., "La majestad de Felipe II. Construcción del mito real", in Martínez Millán J. (ed.), *La corte de Felipe II* (Madrid: 1994) 37–72.

16 Rivero Rodríguez M., "Court Studies in the Spanish World", in Fantoni M. (ed.), *The Court in Europe* (Rome: 2012) 135–148.

17 See Martínez Millán J., "La corte en la Monarquía Hispánica", *Studia Histórica. Historia Moderna* 28 (2006) 17–61 and "Introducción", in Martínez Millán J. – Fernández Conti S. (eds.), *La monarquía de Felipe II: la casa del rey*, 2 vols. (Madrid: 2005) vol. 1, 17–51.

18 Among others, Starkey D. (ed.), *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London: 1987) and Adamson J. (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime, 1500–1700* (London: 1999).

a political organisation (the 'court system') that organised society by regulating conduct (etiquette and ritual) according to the specifics of courtly culture, wherein the power exerted by the prince over men and his kingdom's riches was ultimately likened to the individual power exercised by a father over his household and relatives, whose welfare and wealth he was expected to cultivate, in accordance with the late medieval and early modern interpretation of Aristotle's ethics.[19] This was how Porreño referred to it when he indicated that even though Philip II:

> [...] hazía mercedes a los que le servían, fue tan mirado en esto que premiaba con mayores ventajas a los que avían hecho mayores servicios, aunque ellos estuviesen descuidados de pedir mercedes y se hallasen distantes, pareciéndole que el hazérselas mayores a éstos, pertenecía al acto de justicia distributiva, no obstante que ellos no lo pidiesen.

> [...] bestowed favours on those who served him, he was so punctilious in this regard that he rewarded those who had performed greater services with greater privileges, even if they had not specifically asked for such favours, or remained at a distance, since he thought that bestowing bigger favours on them was part of distributive justice, despite the fact that they [the recipients] did not ask for anything.[20]

In this context, the Valencian humanist, Furió Ceriol (1527–1592) explained to Philips II's son Philip III (1578–1621), that the main pillar or foundation of good governance was to reward good service, a means of manifesting his magnificence and liberality. There was no mirror for princes or treatise on royalty that did not address the question of how the sovereign had to administer justice, mercy and bestow his favour on those who had to be rewarded, given positions or brought into his service. In many of these treatises, the court and royal household occupied a prominent place. In this politico-philosophical system, *mercedes* – gifts of work, dignities, titles or other forms of remuneration bestowed by kings and lords for service – were obtained on the basis of worth or merit, defined as actions that protected or were practised for the good of the rest (the common good), which was established by the sovereign, God's 'vicar', the figure that formed the central axis of the kingdom, the fount and dispenser of all grace, around whom the royal household as well as the royal sites grew

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19 For the adaptation of Aristotle to a princely context, see Lambertini R., "A proposito della 'costruzione' dell'Oeconomica in Egidio Romano", *Medioevo*, 14 (1988) 316–370.

20 Porreño, *Dichos y hechos*, 107.

and developed.[21] This *potestas* was translated into a broad range of discretionary government authority and would henceforth be directed specifically towards interests such as the common good and reason of state, to such an extent that governance of the family economy was geared to the aggrandizement of subjects, and the administration of goods to obtaining wealth by the Realm.

In short, the governance of the court, which included household and royal sites, would become a model of governance for politics, shifting the axis of the family *oeconomica* in the direction of politics.[22] This gave rise to institutional responses as well as a precise definition of political knowledge, since politico-juridical activity was what prevailed in the government of the kingdom. Furthermore, the monarch, in his magnificence and liberality, had to know how to play all the strings of the 'vihuela of the commonwealth' without creating dissonances.[23] The mirror-of-princes tradition, which recuperated the classical idea of *oeconomica* – the doctrine of household management – in the late Middle Ages and adapted it to suit feudal traditions, consisted of the sovereign, as *pater familias*, ruling over the kingdom in the same way that a father rules over his family, with the royal household and sites at the centre of their political power.[24]

This idea was embodied in the royal sites, in as much as these complex spaces not only consisted of the palaces, their gardens, and hunting grounds, but also agricultural land, factories and urban centres, all of which played a role in ensuring the supply of materials to the royal household.[25] As José Luis Sancho explains in a key work on royal sites, 'el espacio representativo de poder no estaba reducido a la villa, sino que se extendía al conjunto del territorio: el Pardo, El Escorial, la Granja y Aranjuez' – 'the representative space of power was not

21 Hespanha A.M., "Representación dogmática y proyectos de poder", in *La gracia del Derecho. Economía de la cultura en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: 1993) 61–87.

22 Hespanha A.M. – Subtil J., "Corporativismo e Estado de Polícia como modelos de governo das sociedades euro-americanas do Antigo Regime", in Fragoso J. – Gouvea F. (eds.), *O Brasil colonial*, I (*1443–1580*) (Río de Janeiro: 2014) 127–166.

23 In this metaphor, the vihuela is identified with the Commonwealth and each member of it is a part (fret, bridge, tuning peg, or strings) of the instrument that the *royal hand* had to play with love and majesty. Páramo J., *El cortesano del Cielo* (Madrid: 1675) 137–138. Also, Mendo A., *Príncipe perfecto y ministros aiustados, Documentos políticos, y morales en emblemas* (Lyon: 1661), doc. XXX, 150–153 in which the king is represented as a music teacher, an allegory of royal clemency.

24 See Hortal Muñoz J.E. – Versteegen G., *Las ideas políticas y sociales en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: 2016) especially chapter 3.

25 See relevant chapters in Martínez Millán J.– Hortal Muñoz J.E. (eds.), *La Corte de Felipe IV (1621–65). Reconfiguración de la Monarquía Católica*, 3 vols. (Madrid: 2015) or some of the studies contained in Camarero Bullón C. – Labrador Arroyo F. (eds.), *La extensión de la corte: los Sitios Reales* (Madrid: 2017).

confined to the *villa* [i.e. the city of Madrid] but encompassed the whole territory: el Pardo, El Escorial, la Granja and Aranjuez'.[26]

At the same time, the royal sites represented political authority. However, since the doctrine of *oeconomica* was not only used to shape and justify the royal households, but also those of the heads of the other aristocratic families in the kingdom, the royal sites had to represent the authority of royal power.[27] Not only were the households more splendid, but their organisation was also much more complex, with elaborate ceremonial procedures and the establishment of a series of ordinances and rules of etiquette that would regulate the functions and salaries of the various officers in the households and at the royal sites. The organisation of the royal household was not concentrated in a single palace, but rather distributed across a constellation of palaces that housed the royal family at different times of the year. As all the surrounding territories had specific characteristics, they also performed different functions in the economic organisation, and eventually in the material supply of the royal household. Furthermore, using the constellation of palaces and sites, the king was also able to extend direct political rule over a wider territory.

The importance of the royal sites became apparent during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when most rulers chose to settle in a specific city, generally the capital (Madrid from the moment it became the courtly residence in 1561) for the winter months, but moved between their fixed residences and a series of hunting lodges or recreational palaces between early spring and late autumn. Consequently, a constellation of three concentric circles of royal sites emerged. The first level was the primary royal site, which mainly housed the ruler's household and court. This was simply the nucleus of a wider

26 Sancho Gaspar J.L., "Carlos III 'de monte en monte'. Cinco poblaciones para una corte cosmopolita", in *Una corte para el rey. Carlos III y los Sitios Reales* (Madrid: 2016) 87.

27 There are numerous references to dignitaries whose magnificence rested in large part on the retinue that accompanied them, e.g. Anonymous, *Noticias de la Corte, 1659–1664* (ed. by Paz y Meliá A., Madrid: 1893) 498, 'En 5 de éste besó la mano á Su Majestad el señor Arzobispo de Sevilla con tanto acompañamiento y lucimiento de libreas y de familia, que bien manifestó la grandeza de su ánimo y la magnificencia de su dignidad. Asistiéronle cuatro Prebendados de su iglesia (que hoy se hallan en esta Corte) con tanta gravedad y esplendor de sus personas, que cada una parecía el acompañado' – 'On the 5th of this month, the Archbishop of Seville kissed His Majesty's hand. The Archbishop had such a great retinue and with a fine show of livery and lineage, which well reflected the grandeur of his spirit and the magnificence of his dignity. He was accompanied by four Prebendaries from his church (who are presently in this Court) with such gravitas and splendour in their bearing that each appeared to be the one being accompanied', available from Real Academia Española: Database (CORDE) [online]. *Corpus diacrónico del español* <http://www.rae.es> (accessed: 21.05.2019).

environment that encompassed Spanish queens, heirs, princes, dowagers, *infantas* and other members of the royal family, who generally had their own households and, in many cases, their own courts, and which together formed a constellation of dynastic households.[28] The next category consisted of secondary royal sites, mostly located outside the capital, which suited the monarchs' custom of seasonal changes of location. The third category of royal sites corresponded to other members of the royal family. Each family member had their own household, and when they carried out duties away from the central court as governors, governors-general, viceroys, or other forms of delegated power, their courts were physically separate from the king's court. There were also royal sites designated for other members of the family in capital cities or nearby locations.

In consequence, the organisation of power in the Spanish Monarchy should be understood using concepts such as 'family', 'dynasty' and 'the prince' and the articulation of society should be explained by means of non-institutional relations, such as personal relationships, power groups, patronage and customs, which were the elements that shaped the political organisation of the court and would be developed principally in the court and at the royal sites.[29] According to the doctrine of *oeconomica*, the royal family was not restricted to the sovereigns and their relatives, but included people working at the royal sites and in the households who were loyal to the sovereign. As a result, the ruler's family included members of the most important noble families, which in turn were organised as large extended families with wide-ranging ramifications at the local level.[30] As the head of a large household, the *pater familias* was not only responsible for its material supply, he also embodied its moral authority, which was expressed in the first place through the 'fair distribution of the economic benefits'.[31]

28 Vermeir R. – Raeymaekers D. – Hortal Muñoz J.E. (eds.), *A Constellation of Courts. The households of Habsburg Europe, 1555–1665* (Louvain: 2014), especially the introduction.

29 For this, see Brunner O., *Vita nobiliare e cultura europea* (Bologna: 1972) 240–250, and also Lambertini R., "A proposito della 'costruzione' dell'Oeconomica"; "Per una storia dell'oeconomica tra alto e basso Medioevo", *Cheiron*, 4 (1984) 45–74, and "L'arte del governo della casa. Note sul commento di Bartolomeo da Varignana agli *Oeconomica*", *Medioevo*, 17 (1991) 347–389.

30 See Martínez Millán J., "La función integradora de la casa real", in Martínez Millán – Fernández Conti, *La monarquía de Felipe II*, vol. 1, 507–516 and Ornagui L., "La bottega di maschere e le origini della politica moderna", in Mozzarelli C. (ed.), *'Familia' del Principe e famiglia aristocratica* (Rome: 1988) 9–23.

31 Frigo D., *Il Padre di famiglia. Governo della Casa e governo civile nella tradizione dell'economica tra Cinque e Seicento* (Rome: 1985).

The model of sociability for the courtly system therefore was based on the core idea of the family, in which servants and staff in the royal households and at the royal sites were members of that family and comprised by royal magnificence. The basis of the system was the figure of the *pater familias* associated with authority and the Aristotelian principle of equity. The sixteenth century witnessed the growth in courtly culture and society, and the institutionalisation of royal households and royal sites, which were called into question during the seventeenth century, and in particular the eighteenth.[32]

The court of the Spanish Monarchy was maintained as it always had been in the classic tradition, in accordance with the wording of the *Partidas* (Seven Divisions of Law) of Alfonso X the Wise (1221–1284), where it was defined as the place where the king resided with his family, servants and councillors:

> [...] el lugar do es el Rey, e sus vasallos e sus ofiçiales con él, que an cotidianamente de consejar e de servir, e los otros del Regno que se llegan y o por onrra dél, e por alcançar derecho, o por fazer rrecabdar las otras cosas que an de veer con él; e tomó este nonbre de una palabra de latyn que dizen ayors (cohors), en que muestra tanto commo ayuntamiento de compannas, ca ally se allegan todos aquellos que an a onrrar e a guardar al Rey e al Regno. E otros a nonbre en latyn curia, que quiere tanto dezir commo lugar do es la cura de todos los fechos de la tierra, ca ally se a de catar lo que cada uno a de aver segunt su derecho o su estado.
>
> [...] the place where the King is, together with his vassals and the officers who have to counsel and serve him daily, and others in the Kingdom who arrive and honour him, and to deal with questions that have to do with the law or tax collection, as well as other things that have to do with the monarch; and it [the Court] took its name from a word in Latin that they say as ayors (cohors), and which means the board of companies, where all those who are to honour and guard the King and his Kingdom come together. In Latin it also means curia, which is the place where the cure for all the events on earth is, for it is there that what each one should have, according to his right or estate, should be addressed.[33]

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32 Malcolm A., *Royal Favouritism and the Governing Elite of the Spanish Monarchy, 1640–1665* (Oxford: 2016); Dickens A.G. (ed.), *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage, and Royalty 1400–1800* (London: 1977) and Martínez Millán, "La Corte de La Monarquía Hispánica", 17–61.

33 *Partida Segunda de Alfonso X el Sabio* (Granada: 1991), title IX, law XXVII (eds. A. Juárez Blanquer and A. Rubio Flores).

In his *Rimado de Palacio* [Poem of Palace Life], the chancellor Pero López de Ayala (1332–1407) continued this view through the character Pedro López, who identified the court with the royal household and the king's councillors and described the court as a space of power where 'gravitaban otras esferas, constituyendo su centro aquella que rodeaba al monarca y de la cual el propio rey era el núcleo', 'other spheres were gravitating, whose centre was constituted of the one circling the monarch, of which the king himself was the hub'.[34] It was, therefore, both a place and a substantial group of hierarchically organised people with specific functions, who were responsible for attending to and looking after the needs of the household, the royal family or prince, as well as the institutional administration of government, and also representing the image of power. As the head of the royal family, therefore, the king's power extended over the monarchy but went beyond direct rule over the royal domains to include political authority over the aristocratic families, who had their own networks at a local level in the monarchy, and served as intermediaries.

Throughout the seventeenth century, the Spanish court continued, in most respects, to be identified with a specific space inhabited by the king's retinue, although the changes that were taking place started to be noticed, such as the institutionalisation of the system, which was reflected by Gil González Dávila (1570–1658) in *Teatro de las grandezas de la villa de Madrid* [Theatre of the Grandeurs of the City of Madrid] and by Alonso Núñez de Castro in *Solo Madrid es corte*.[35] Nonetheless, the Spanish Monarchy (like the rest of the European monarchies in the Early Modern period) justified its rule and institutions in accordance with this classical philosophy of state; nevertheless, since such a large number of kingdoms and territories had been annexed by inheritance or conquest, the Monarchy kept this organisation for them, in other words, they each kept their own royal households (Aragon, Portugal, Castile, and so on) and courts (institutions and tribunals).

A vital factor in this process of shaping these various royal households and royal sites was what was known as the etiquettes. The etiquettes were the prescribed set of rules, regulations and codes that ensured the magnificence, as well as the dignity and safety of the figure of the monarch, recognized the obligations, privileges and hierarchy of the courtiers, and also specified how

34 Valdaliso Casanova C., "La obra cronística de Pedro López de Ayala y la sucesión en la monarquía de Castilla", *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 12 (2011) 198.

35 González Dávila G., *Teatro de las Grandezas de la villa de Madrid, corte de los Reyes Católicos de España* (Madrid: 1623) and Núñez de Castro, *Sólo Madrid es Corte*.

service must be provided for the monarch and his family members with the requisite decorum.[36]

Given their importance, the etiquettes were first systematised and codified in the reign of Charles V, influenced by the Burgundian model, which marked a clear break with the existing Castilian model. An outstanding example is provided by the ordinances of his son's household. It was first organised in 1535, in the Castilian manner, and then changed to the Burgundian model on 15 August 1548, just before Charles set off on his journey around Europe.[37] His son, Philip II, continued the process of codification. Most of the ordinances for the stables, for example, were completed during his reign (1561, 1564, 1585, 1593 and 1598), and others were drawn up for the chapel (1584). There is no doubt, though, that his most important action was to establish the etiquettes for the governance of the household of his wife, Anne of Austria, in December 1575. This general provision formed the basis, with slight modifications, of the etiquettes that were issued during successive reigns to the palace households of the various queens of the Spanish Monarchy – to Margaret of Austria (1584–1611) in 1603, for example, as well as to the *infantas* who married foreign princes, such as the household set up for the *infantas* on 1 July 1579, or the one conferred on Catherine Michelle (1567–1597) on 13 June 1585, according to an order issued in Barcelona by secretary Juan de Idiáquez (1540–1614).[38] Nevertheless, the systematisation and organisation that were carried out during the reign of Philip IV were notable for the creation of the Board of Etiquettes and for the approval of the general palace etiquettes in 1651.

Gestures, bearing, behaviour in society were not only expressions of the new polite education, but also created a modern distinction between those with values from those who lacked them.[39] Court etiquette therefore sought to ensure that the service rendered within the royal households was well regulated, protecting the monarch from any intruder who might attack his person, and, by creating distance between him and his subjects, generating a quasi-divine image of the king.[40]

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36 Álvarez Barrientos J., *Cultura y ciudad. Madrid, del incendio a la maqueta (1701–1833)* (Madrid: 2017) 121.

37 See, Martínez Millán J. (ed.), *La corte de Carlos V*, 5 vols. (Madrid: 2000) vols. 1 and 2.

38 For this, see Labrador Arroyo F., "La influencia de la Casa de Castilla en la organización de la Casa de las reinas hispanas", in Id. and Gambra Gutiérrez A. (eds.), *Evolución y estructura de la Casa real de Castilla*, 2 vols. (Madrid: 2010) vol. 1, 227–260.

39 Noel Ch., "La etiqueta borgoñona en la corte de España (1547–1800)", *Manuscrits*, 22 (2004) 141–150.

40 On this topic, see Bertelli S. – Crifò G. (eds.), *Rituale, cerimoniale, etichetta* (Milan: 1985); Cannadine D., 'Introduction: divine rites of kings', in Id. – Price S. (eds.), *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge: 1987) 1–19;

In turn, the numerous administrative arrangements affected the uniformity of the customs of the ruling elite and were manifested in a multitude of details concerning taste, language or formal behaviour. Guidelines for conduct and codes of behaviour that were to be obeyed by all courtiers were also drawn up; good breeding and familiarity with those guidelines enabled observers to distinguish between the noble and the plebeian. The good life, a good upbringing and good government originated at court, the source, in the opinion of the German sociologist Werner Sombart, of all social vitality.[41]

Etiquette was something akin to a set of rules underpinning its own specific role in determining social and political structures.[42] The ordinances, etiquette and ceremonial imposed a hierarchical order, with the person of the king at the top, following a mythical conception of 'monarchy', and society seen as a 'body', a unified whole made up of different yet interconnected parts. The ordinances, etiquette and ceremonial of the royal household were, at the same time, pragmatic, like those that regulated the council and the chancery, so that they included in the political community as laws.[43] These ordinances governed the life of the prince and the functioning of all aspects of the royal household, although this did not prevent certain issues from remaining subject to customary practice and others being changed in accordance with the wishes of the prince or the prevailing political environment.[44] As Juan de Idiáquez stated, when he pointed out to Philip III how his wife should be received in Valencia: 'las etiquetas hacen las costumbres, y éstas en palacio las introduce el Rey a su voluntad' – 'the etiquettes make customs, and these are introduced into the palace at the King's will'.[45]

Visceglia M.A., "Cérémonial et politique pendant la période moderne", in Id. – Brice C. (eds.), *Cérémonial et rituel à Rome (XVIe–XIXe siècle)* (Rome: 1997) 1–19. See also the project carried out in recent years by the Centre de recherche du Château de Versailles (http://chateauversailles-recherche.fr/english/research-and-training/research-programmes/archives/court-etiquette-normative-texts.html) (accessed: 15.07.2019).

41 Sombart W., *Lujo y capitalismo* (Madrid: 2009) 53.

42 Prosperi A. (ed.), *La corte e il Cortegiano*, II: *Un modello europeo* (Rome: 1980); Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño A., 'Corte y cortesanos en la Monarquía de España', in Patrizi G. – Quondam A. (eds.), *Educare il corpo, educare la parola nella trattatistica del Rinascimento* (Rome: 1998) 297–365.

43 Rivero Rodríguez M., 'De la separación a la reunión dinástica: la Corona de Aragón entre 1504 y 1516', in Martínez Millán, *La Corte de Carlos V*, vol. 1, 73–101, at 79.

44 Del Río Barredo M.J., 'El ritual en la corte de los Austrias', in Lobato M.L. – García García B.J. (eds.), *La fiesta cortesana en la época de los Austrias* (Valladolid: 2003) 17–34.

45 Pérez-Mínguez F., *D. Juan de Idiáquez. Embajador y consejero de Felipe II* (San Sebastián: 1934) 282.

Etiquette and ceremonial were also linked to the functions of different sections of the royal household, since they constituted an organisational and celebrative liturgy of power as well as a formal framework that governed the individual and collective conduct of the social elites at court: the Chapel, the Chamber, the Offices of the Household, the Stables, the Guards and the Hunt. Each one of them was concerned with three different yet complementary aspects of royal household life: the servants in the respective section, the physical space of the royal sites and the physical or spiritual needs of the ruler (as *pater familias*) and his family. Each of them was employed to enforce the magnificence of the sovereign, both within (the first three sections) and without (the last three) the walls of the royal sites.

4 How the Royal Household Represented the Magnificence of the Sovereign in the Spanish Monarchy

The Spanish Monarchy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries included several territorial units that had their own political systems and princely courts before they were integrated into the Spanish Monarchy. Consequently, the royal household played a significant role in maintaining all these territories, and integrating the territorial elites was crucial.[46] It should be borne in mind that under Charles V the Spanish Monarchy opted to use the court to bring together territories that had been inherited, as well as those obtained by annexation or conquest, with a view to providing architectural structures in each and every kingdom. This socio-political configuration favoured the following developments. Firstly, it led to the proliferation of royal households, because of the role they played in shaping these kingdoms socially as well as politically. Protecting their autonomy also meant that their corresponding households had to be retained even when the king was not in residence. As a result, any change made to the political structures of the monarchy inevitably affected the organisation of the royal households, which were gradually consolidated in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Although the Spanish Monarchy was a single political entity, its kings had several complete, fully functioning royal households (in Castile, Aragon, Naples,

46 For a study on the process of integration, see Martínez Millán, *La Corte de Carlos V*; Martínez Millán – Fernández Conti, *La Monarquía de Felipe II*; Martínez Millán J. – Visceglia M.A. (eds.), *La Monarquía de Felipe III*, 4 vols. (Madrid: 2008); Martínez Millán – Hortal Muñoz, *La Corte de Felipe IV*; and Hortal Muñoz – Labrador Arroyo, *La Casa de Borgoña.* The conclusions are summarised here.

Sicily, Portugal, Navarre and Burgundy) under the umbrella of the Household of Burgundy.[47] After the initial contacts with the Spanish royal household subsequent to the two journeys made by Philip the Fair (1478–1506) to Castile in 1502–1503 and 1506, and that of Prince Charles (the future Charles V) between 1517 and 1520, it became the most crucial aspect of the Spanish Monarchy, particularly after 1548. The organisation of the household of the king or the queen called for magnificence and appropriate dignity.

In the end, the Spanish Monarchy adopted the Burgundian etiquette, which was considered the finest in Europe and, after it had undergone a lengthy period of adaptation, the best one to represent the magnificence of the sovereign. In his well-known work, *Guerra de Granada*, the historian and humanist Alonso Fernández de Palencia (1422–1492) recalled the festivities in Valladolid, held for the ambassadors sent by Maximilian of Austria, in 1489, and also gave a vivid account of the festivities held to honour the memory of Charles the Bold (1433–1477), more than ten years after his death, and the impact they had on the Castilian court:

> Créese haber puesto más empeño los Reyes en la magnificencia de las fiestas, porque franceses y alemanes, especialmente cuantos recordaban con extraordinario encomio la memoria del difunto Duque de Borgoña, aseguraban que en ninguna parte del mundo como en aquellos reinos se celebraban las fiestas con más esplendor, alegría y suntuosidad.

> It is thought that the King and Queen had put more effort into the magnificence of the festivities because the French and Germans, especially those who remembered the late Duke of Burgundy with such fulsome praise, claimed that nowhere in the world were festivities celebrated with greater splendour, joy and sumptuousness than in those kingdoms.[48]

From the end of the Middle Ages, the House of Burgundy enjoyed notable prominence and considerable political prestige in a Europe that was ruled by royal dynasties. Accordingly, Burgundian etiquette gradually ended up permeating both everyday and extraordinary practices at the Hispanic court, although the court faction that supported the adoption of the Burgundian

47 Not all of these have been properly studied, except those pertaining to Burgundy and Castile in the volumes mentioned previously. An exception is the case of the Portuguese household, in Labrador Arroyo F., *La Casa Real en Portugal (1580–1621)* (Madrid: 2009).

48 Palencia A. de., "Guerra de Granada", in Paz y Meliá A. (ed.), *Crónica de Enrique IV* (Madrid: 1975) vol. 3, 75–240, book IX, 216.

etiquette had an arduous struggle against those who defended the more austere Castilian ceremonial.[49]

As a result of the decision made by his father Charles V, Philip II inherited a political and social system that lacked a unifying structure, and the monarchy's constituent territories felt the physical absence of their prince acutely. In order to keep his territorial inheritance intact, Philip II initially decided to use his father's tried and tested model to unite the scattered regions by incorporating their elites into his service via the court. However, this plan was short-lived, because the Castilian elite advocated Castilian hegemony throughout the monarchy and at court. Both the process of confessionalisation and the decision to move the court permanently to Madrid – which was accompanied by measures designed to make the sovereign omnipresent – undoubtedly reinforced the process of Castilianisation. Núñez de Castro stated: 'Sin envidia de todas las Cortes del mundo se puede decir que la de Madrid en estos obsequios vence a las más y se deja igualar de pocas. ¡Oh, dure mucho en estos respetos, para que se haga venerar de todas las naciones del mundo!' – '[Even] without the envy of all the Courts in the world, it can be said that in these acts of compliance Madrid's court is better than most and is equalled by few. Oh, long may this situation endure so that it is venerated by all the nations in the world!'.[50]

Conscious of the fact that he needed a new organisational structure, Philip II decided that political harmony could best be guaranteed through hierarchy and inequality. Castile would head his territories, and its councils would form the basis of the political entity that they belonged to. During his reign, Philip II managed to create a distinct image for the Spanish Monarchy, but although the dynasty provided the official household model, which was Burgundian, this image largely ignored the Castilian heritage that had contributed to its formation.

This change, in the words of Lope de Vega (1562–1635), turned Madrid into an 'archive of nations' enabling non-Castilians who resided at court to live as if they were in their countries of origin, under their own jurisdictions.[51] However, the majority of non-Castilians who were active in the court of Madrid no longer belonged to the upper aristocracy, and they were no longer welcome in the various royal courts and households from which that they had come. As a result, it was necessary to find new ways for the crown's generosity to trickle

49 Martínez Millán J., "La articulación de la monarquía hispana: Auge y ocaso de la Casa Real de Castilla" in Edelmayer F. et al. (orgs.), *Plus ultra. Die Welt der Neuzeit. Festschrift für Alfred Kohler zum 65. Geburstag* (Münster: 2007) 407–452.

50 Núñez de Castro, *Solo Madrid es Corte*, 498.

51 Rivero Rodríguez M., "Una Monarquía de Casas Reales y Cortes Virreinales" in Martínez Millán – Visceglia, *La Monarquía de Felipe III*, vol. 4, 31–60.

down to Spain's vast holdings. The crown's viceroys and governors gradually started incorporating the local elites into their own services, a process that was consolidated under Philip III. This led to the revival of some vice-regal courts, such as those located in Naples, Sicily and Portugal, as well as the building of new, larger courts in the Americas and the creation of the Maison Royale de Bruxelles in the Habsburg Netherlands; these were spaces and places that showcased the magnificence of the monarch, his image and his generosity. In chapter 12 of Baltasar Porreño's *Dichos y hechos* (The Sayings and Deeds of King Philip II), which focuses on generosity and royal magnificence, he says of Philip II:

> En Nápoles acabó la fortificación del Castillo de San Elmo y se hizo un baluarte junto a Castel del Ovo [...] hizo las casas reales de Panamá [...] Por su orden y con su ayuda se fundó el colegio real de la ciudad de los Reyes y las casas reales de Lima, se fundó la capilla real, con un capellán mayor y cinco menores.

> In Naples, he finished the fortification of Castel Sant'Elmo and a bastion was built next to Castel dell'Ovo [...] he set up the royal households in Panama [...] On his orders and with his help, the royal college of the City of Kings was founded and the royal households in Lima; the royal chapel was founded, with a dean of the chapel and five minor chaplains.[52]

This process would end when Philip IV adopted a new series of economic measures to replace the Spanish Monarchy's previous model of political organisation, which had been in place since the time of Charles V. Despite everything, Olivares (1587–1645) began cutting costs in the royal households by monitoring the efficiency of the ordinances of 1624. During those years, there was significant discussion and criticism of the enormous expense of the royal households, as we can see from the remarks of the Latinist and Hebraist Pedro de Valencia (1555–1620):

> Avíase de ver si Su Magestad tiene mayor casa i más número de ministros i criados del que basta i solía bastar para su servicio i apparato de magnificencia i autoridad. Porque esto, demás del gasto que se recrece, occupa i haze ociosos a un gran número.

52 Porreño, *Dichos y hechos* 99–100.

> Prepare to find out whether His Majesty has a larger household and more ministers and servants than he requires and that used to be sufficient for his service and the pomp to show off his magnificence and authority. Because apart from the expense it is generating, it is making a considerable number of people lazy.[53]

As a result of these changes, access to most middle- and low-level posts in royal households became increasingly difficult and restricted mostly to those belonging to families with a long tradition of service to the household. This made it impossible for new officers to join the royal entourages, regardless of their service to the monarch. The so-called 'patrimonialisation' of posts was supported by the kings, and some servants received privileges, such as the ability to pass their posts on to their sons or *para con quién casare* (children's spouses) over one or even two generations.

Hence, the main cause of the decline of the system was that many of its subjects could no longer be integrated into the royal household and so remained outside the protective umbrella that the monarch, as *pater familias*, had thus far afforded them. It should also be remembered that one of the most important functions of the royal household until that moment, apart from displaying the magnificence of the king and his court, was the gift policy in the context of a domestic economy, channelling presents and *mercedes* granted by the king, the ultimate source of grace. Usually, when servants took up a post in the royal household, the office included not only wages and salaries but also the daily food ration. For example, in 1626, on days when meat was served, the regular ration in the king's royal household was one pound of beef or pork, one pound of cow meat, a quarter of a pound of bacon, four rolls of bread and half a litre

53 Valencia P. de, *Discurso contra la ociosidad* (Madrid: 1608) (ed. by González Cañal R., León: 1993) 165 or Fernández de Navarrete P., *Conservación de monarquías y discursos políticos* (Madrid: 1626) (ed. by Gordon M.D., Madrid: 1982) 257, 'Y por esta razón entre los demás consejos que Isócrates dio a Nísocles fue, que con atención cuidase de los gastos domésticos de sus vasallos, teniendo por cierto que los regularían por los que él hiciese [...] porque ya se iba introduciendo en Roma lo que por nuestros pecados y para nuestro castigo se ve introducido en España, que los señores teman por gallardía de ánimo el consumir sus patrimonios y el de sus allegados, dando a la prodigalidad nombre de magnificencia' – 'And for this reason, among the advice that Isocrates gave to Nicocles, was for him to keep a careful eye on the domestic expenditure of his vassals since they would certainly regulate theirs in line with whatever he did [...] because what was starting to happen in Rome, is now, for our sins, is being introduced into Spain as punishment; because the masters are putting a brave face on the fact that their assets, and those of their kin, are being depleted, while calling prodigality magnificence'. Available from CORDE (accessed: 21.09.2019).

of wine. Depending on the importance of the office, clothing, wax for candles, wood, coal and other material needs of the servants, as well as a *casa de aposento* (lodgings for the palace staff), medical treatment and pharmaceuticals could also be provided as extras.[54]

After the collapse of the royal household, Philip IV realized that it was necessary to find new instruments to keep the kingdoms together and decided to implement a new strategy.[55] This strategy involved creating a system for anyone directly or indirectly associated with the royal households and royal sites that had existed under previous monarchs. The system established two categories: the *reservados* (reserved) and the *pensionarios* (pensioners). The *reservados* were officeholders or officials who had served for several years but obliged to retire because of old age or poor health. They were allowed to collect their entire wage or part of it, or receive some other reward with no obligation to serve. *Pensionarios* received a pension as relatives of royal servants. The difference between the two categories was based on what the nature of their previous service to the Crown. Most of the resources that would be used for such purposes were taken from the royal sites themselves. So, despite the breakdown of the system, the royal household remained one of the best instruments for integrating the kingdoms and representing the magnificence of the king.

Finally, it should also be mentioned that, in the case of the Spanish Monarchy, there were other royal households in existence apart from the one belonging to the king. The most important one after the king's household was, naturally, the queen's.[56] It should be borne in mind that when sovereignty and legitimacy were vested in the queen alone, her household was the same size as the king's, although with an additional female chamber. There were two other possibilities: the household of the queen consort, and that of the queen mother who occasionally acted as regent, as did Queen Marianne of Austria (1634–1696).[57]

54 Numerous archival references and examples in Martínez Millán – Hortal Muñoz, *La Corte de Felipe IV*, vol. 2.

55 Hortal Muñoz J.E., "Reservados y pensionistas. Una nueva integración de los reinos en la Casa Real" in Martínez Millán – Hortal Muñoz, *La Corte de Felipe IV*, vol. 3, 2283–2341.

56 Kolk C. zum, "The Household of the Queen of France in the Sixteenth Century", *The Court Historian* 14 (2009) 3–22; Akkerman N. – Houben B. (eds.), *The politics of female households. Ladies-in-waiting across Early Modern Europe* (Leiden – Boston: 2014); for the royal households of the queens and the *infantes* of the Spanish Monarchy, Hortal Muñoz J.E. – Labrador Arroyo F., "Presentación- Las Casas de las reinas, de los príncipes, de los infantes y de las infantas, ¿modelo borgoñón y castellano?" in Id., *La Casa de Borgoña*, 461–481.

57 See Mitchell S., *Queen, Mother, and Stateswoman Mariana of Austria and the Government of Spain* (Pennsylvania: 2019).

Equally important was the heir's household, which belonged to the Prince of Asturias who spent his childhood in the female environment of his mother and her ladies-in-waiting. A full household was not established until the heir was fourteen or fifteen years old and, in many cases, the service was shared with his brothers and sisters, the *infantes*. When all the *infantes* were old enough, they had their own households that varied in composition depending on the political situation. Indeed, some of these *infantes* occupied posts as governors or viceroys of the different kingdoms of the Monarchy and the household increased or decreased in size, depending on the importance of the territory. It should also be noted that when they found themselves in territories that still had a royal household – such as Sicily, Naples, or Portugal – that household had to coexist with that of the *infantes*. Wherever a royal household did not exist, in America for example, or some Italian territories (Milan, for instance) or in the Iberian Peninsula (Majorca), the household of the *infantes* was merged with the viceroy's or the governor's.

Thus, the number of servants in the different royal households contributing to the magnificence of the sovereigns and the royal family was rather high. According to the Aristotelian concept of the golden mean, the monarch and his family had to have a staff of officers at their disposal sufficient to cover all their needs, not just those associated with representation, image and power, but also their day-to-day needs. The number was not fixed but, by and large, it can be assumed that the number of servants increased between the fifteenth century and the seventeenth century, when steps were taken to trim their numbers.[58] The peak was reached during the reign of Philip IV (1621–1665), when it is thought that more than 12,000 people were employed in his royal households, as well as in those of the queens, princes, *infantes* and at the royal sites. Although it is difficult to know the total cost of maintaining the royal households, we estimate that it was approximately 10–20% of the total budget of the court during the seventeenth century.

5 Conclusion

It is important to mention that this essay represents an attempt to reflect the findings that our research group has gathered over more than two decades; the task at hand was to place the royal household at the centre of the political and social system that shaped European monarchies between the thirteenth and

58 Some examples available in Hortal Muñoz – Versteegen, *Las ideas políticas y sociales*, 26–33.

the nineteenth centuries. This system was the court system, and under the dynastic monarchies, the royal household was the nucleus of the court that lent the dynasty substance and legitimized its government in a specific territory.[59] Since their creation, the royal household and royal sites were key elements for promoting the magnificence of rulers as noble representatives of their dynasty and heirs to the certain virtues discussed in the present volume.

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CHAPTER 7

Educating Magnificence: Juan Eusebio Nieremberg on Ascesis and Splendour in his Manual for the Reales Estudios of the Colegio Imperial at Madrid

Gijs Versteegen

1 Introduction

'No es lo hermoso de la virtud ser conocida sino ejecutada' – 'The beauty of virtue lies not in being known, but in being performed',[1] stated the Spanish Jesuit author Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595–1658) in his book of moral advice for Spanish nobles, *Obras y días* (*Works and Days*). Nieremberg's manual taught aristocrats how to train themselves in and practise the forty-five virtues he listed in separate chapters, including magnificence. He based his description of this virtue on the Aristotelian notion of the art of spending large sums on great works, which, apart from their aesthetic qualities, contributed to the common good and thus reflected the virtue of the giver. The definition is more or less commonplace; the interest of Nieremberg's conception of magnificence lies rather in his idea of how mental and spiritual training could perfect the young nobleman's performance of this virtue.

As I aim to show in this essay, this ascetic approach made it possible for Nieremberg to harmonise the practice of magnificence, based on great expenditure, with Christian poverty and frugality.[2] His conception made sense in specific historical circumstances. Nieremberg wrote his manual for the

1 Nieremberg Juan Eusebio, *Obras y días. Manual de señores y príncipes en que se propone con su pureza y rigor la especulación y ejecución política, económica, y particular de todas las virtudes* (*Works and days: Manual for nobles and princes, which proposes, in its purity and rigour, the theory and practice of all the virtues in political and economic* [*sectors, as well*] *in one's own life*) (Madrid, viuda de Alonso Martin: 1629) 215. This essay has been funded as part of the project "La herencia de los reales sitios. Madrid, de corte a capital (Historia, Patrimonio y Turismo)" (H2015/HUM3415) of the 2015 Madrid Community Call for R & D in Social Sciences and Humanities, funded by the FSE and MINECO-FEDER-UE Excellence Project "Del patrimonio dinástico al patrimonio nacional: los Sitios Reales" (HAR2015-68946-C3-3-P).

2 On the concept of ascesis as training or exercise, see Sloterdijk P., *You must change your life* (Cambridge – Malden, MA: 2013). Specifically, for Nieremberg's asceticism in above all his spiritual works, see Hendrickson D.S., *Jesuit Polymath of Madrid: The Literary Enterprise of Juan Eusebio Nieremberg. 1595–1658* (Leiden – Boston: 2015).

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Reales Estudios of the Colegio Imperial at Madrid, a Jesuit educational institution founded as part of the Count-Duke of Olivares's reform programme.[3] The aim of these reforms was, among others, to bring about the moral regeneration of the Spanish Monarchy in response to widespread criticism of the supposed corruption and decadent lifestyle of Philip III's court dominated by his *valido* the Duke of Lerma (1553–1625).[4] Nevertheless, despite this drive for austerity, displays of magnificence could not be neglected in an educational programme for the Spanish nobility as they were an inherent part of royal and aristocratic decorum.

The establishment of the Reales Estudios at the court of Madrid, to be managed by the Jesuit Society, was a controversial project, as I will show in the first section. Rival religious orders and Castilian universities questioned the need for this new educational institution, which was devised by Philip IV's counsellors as an expression of royal magnificence. They claimed that Jesuit counsellors had misled the King and that Madrid, because of its potentially licentious courtly life, was an inappropriate place to educate young noblemen. In the light of this dispute, Nieremberg's remarks on magnificence turn out to be more than just a theoretical reflection as they relate directly to contemporary educational polemics.

In the next section, I will specifically address Nieremberg's analysis of magnificence as a virtue, setting it in the context of another controversy that emerged in the times of the Counter-Reformation. Virtue, according to Nieremberg, was expressed in the good works whereby Christians earned salvation. A magnificent work was essentially a good work. In his exposition on good works, Nieremberg referred tacitly to Luther's dismissal of them as mere outward appearance. This controversy especially affected the virtue of magnificence, which from this perspective was potentially suspicious of being mere show because of its external material manifestation. I will end by explaining

3 Hendrickson, *Jesuit Polymath* 168.

4 On Olivares's reform programme from a moral perspective, see Rivero Rodríguez M., *El Conde Duque de Olivares: la búsqueda de la privanza perfecta* (Madrid: 2017) 92–99. The Society of Jesus maintained a large European network of colleges for the nobility. They had a more or less common curriculum based on the Ratio Studiorum and, unlike common Jesuit schools, specifically integrated chivalric exercises and the acquisition of courtly manners. See Brizzi G.P., *Università, Principe, Gesuiti: La política farnesina dell'istruzione. Parma e Piacenza (1545–1622)* (Roma: 1980) and Turrini M., *Il 'giovin signore' in collegio: I gesuiti e l'educazione della nobiltà nelle consuetudini del collegio ducale di Parma* (Bologna: 2006). For a general historical overview on Jesuit education see Casalini C., "Rise, Character, and Development of Jesuit Education: Teaching the World" in Županov I.G. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits* (New York, NY: 2019) 153–176.

how Nieremberg framed the virtue of magnificence by giving it a spiritual dimension and limiting its expression by means of the tempering virtues of parsimony and humility and how it could be honed through mental and physical exercise.

2 The Foundation of the Reales Estudios: Magnificence, Liberality or Tyranny?

The foundation of the Reales Estudios was beset with controversy.[5] By establishing this educational institution in the court of Madrid, King Philip IV's favourite, Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimentel, the Count-Duke of Olivares (1587–1645), aimed to form a political and military elite with absolute loyalty to the King. The Count-Duke decided that the Society of Jesus, whose educational institutions in Catholic Europe enjoyed much prestige, would run the Reales Estudios.[6] Their educational proposal was centred on 'government of the self', using reason to control one's emotional life and to adapt one's action in the world to the teachings of Christ. In the words of D. Scott Hendrickson: 'Jesuits applied their spiritual principles to learning in order to cultivate an inner sense of the truth that would then translate into the way one lives and contributes to society'.[7]

The Reales Estudios was to be a centre for higher studies that formed part of the Colegio Imperial, which had been founded in 1609 for the education of the children of the Spanish elites using income from the bequest of Empress María of Austria (1528–1603). The curriculum of the Colegio Imperial focused on the study of grammar and rhetoric. Rhetoric included the practical study of persuasion in written, verbal and corporal communication, and this explains the importance the school attached to magnificent public spectacles, such as prize awards to the most brilliant students, and allegorical theatrical plays,

5 On the Reales Estudios and its foundation: Martínez de la Escalera J., "Felipe IV, fundador de los Estudios Reales", *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños* 23 (1986) 175–197; Simón Díaz J., *Historia del Colegio Imperial de Madrid* (Madrid: 1992); Carrasco Martínez A., "Los Estudios Reales del Colegio Imperial de Madrid y otros proyectos educativos de Olivares", *Cuadernos de Investigación histórica* 26 (2009) 91–121; Elliott J.H., *El Conde-Duque de Olivares: El político en una época de decadencia* (Barcelona: 2012)199–200.

6 On the relation between Olivares and the Jesuit Society, see Navarro Lozano J.J., *La Compañía de Jesús y el poder en la España de los Austrias* (Madrid: 2005) 187–193.

7 Hendrickson, *Jesuit Polymath* 193.

conceived as edifying exercises in rhetoric. The Society of Jesus also promoted its educational institutions by staging these public spectacles.[8]

The pupils of the Colegio Imperial recited, sang and danced at these events in the presence of the royal family and their courtiers. According to Lucette Elyane Roux, the plays were an 'extension' of courtly theatre: the Italian scenographers who designed the theatre sets in the Buen Retiro Palace, the Real Alcázar in Madrid and other royal sites also served the Jesuit fathers in the Colegio Imperial and would be employed in the Reales Estudios, too.[9]

These splendorous spectacles astonished courtiers with the ingenuity of the scenography, the beauty of the costumes, the elegance of the actors, and the inclusion of *entr'actes* with dance and music. The Jesuits thus used theatre as an instrument for spiritual conquest: they clothed moral and religious messages in the splendour of spectacles.[10] In addition, the pupils learned from an early age to perform at magnificent events: acting in these shows was a preparation for behaving with propriety at courtly ceremonies. The court was ultimately a 'permanent spectacle' in which the gestures of the royal family and courtiers were scrutinised for hidden meanings, such as expressing approval or disapproval, contempt or respect, satisfaction or annoyance.[11]

The establishment of the Reales Estudios within the Jesuit Colegio Imperial aroused the suspicion of the Castilian universities of Alcalá de Henares, Salamanca, and Valladolid; religious orders, especially the Dominicans; and a few Castilian bishops who controlled the smaller universities and other educational institutions in their dioceses. Academic competition, fear of loss of social and political influence, and rivalry between religious orders were the motives behind a campaign to thwart Olivares's plan.[12] The King attempted to allay the universities' fears of the establishment of a competing institution

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8 Menéndez Pelaez J., *Los jesuitas y el teatro en el Siglo de Oro* (Oviedo: 1995); Asenjo J.A., "Teatro musical en festejos escolares hispánicos en la Edad Moderna", *Revista del Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Españolas* 30.1 (2014) 19–43.

9 Roux L.E., "Cent ans d'expérience théatrale dans les Collèges de la Compagnie de Jésus en Espagne. Deuxième moitié du XVI[e] siècle. Première moitié du XVII[e] siécle", in Jacquot J. – Konigson E. – Oddon M. (eds.), *Dramaturgie et société. Rapports entre l'oeuvre théâtrale, son interpretation et son public aux XVI[e] et XVII[e] siècles* (Paris: 1968), vol. 2, 479–523, esp. 519–521. Roux only mentions the Buen Retiro, J. Simón Díaz adds in his *Historia del Colegio Imperial* the Real Alcázar and other royal sites.

10 Roux, "Cent ans d'expérience" 520–521.

11 The expression 'permanent spectacle' is from Carlos Hernando Sánchez. See Hernando Sánchez C.J., "Teatro del honor y ceremonial de la ausencia. La corte virreinal de Nápoles en el siglo XVII", in Alcalá-Zamora J. – Belenguer E. (eds.), *Calderón de la Barca y la España del Barroco* (Madrid: 2001) 591–674, esp. 592–593.

12 Carrasco, "Los Estudios Reales" 106.

at the court, stressing that it would mainly focus on the teaching of grammar, literature and classical and modern languages, and chivalric exercises. But in a written protest printed in 1627, the Castilian universities of Alcalá de Henares and Salamanca claimed that the Reales Estudios were clearly a university in disguise.[13]

That was not entirely true. Although the fears that the Reales Estudios would encroach on the universities' privileges by offering a similar study plan certainly had some grounds, there were also clear curricular differences between the educational institutions. Whereas the Colegio Imperial prepared the children of the Spanish elites for their future role, dedicating special attention to the acquisition of courtly manners, the Reales Estudios set out to educate future royal servants through specific teachings which provided knowhow of courtly behaviour that was not offered by the curriculum of the universities of Alcalá de Henares and Salamanca.

The foundational plan of the Reales Estudios presented the institution as a royal initiative 'de que S.M. ha de ser fundador y patron y los señores reyes sus subcesores perpetuos' – 'of which His Majesty has to be the founder and patron, as well as all the [future] kings, his perpetual successors'.[14] Its establishment was thus framed as the performance of royal magnificence, which involved sizeable expenditure on the public good, in this case a new educational institution. In fact, Philip IV (1605–1665) allocated a substantial annual income of 10,000 ducats to the Reales Estudios.

Predictably, the universities attacked this decision. But although their pamphlet criticised the significant royal funding, it did not discuss this issue within the context of the virtue of magnificence, but within that of liberality.[15] Early modern Spanish political authors considered liberality – that is, the capacity of the king to reward his subjects according to their merits, which involved a proportionate distribution of favours – a basic condition for a well-ordered monarchy. Liberality, from this perspective, was a feature of virtuous rule and, by extension, a king who did not respect the principle of distributive justice came close to becoming a tyrant.[16]

13 Martínez de la Escalera, "Felipe IV" 181, n. 19.

14 Quoted in Carrasco, "Los Estudios Reales" 105.

15 *Representación de las Universidades de Salamanca y Alcalá al Rey suplicándole las favorezca contra la pretension de los Padres de la Compañia de fundar en esta Corte una Universidad o Estudios generales, de lo que habian de seguirse graves perjuicios para el Reyno y las dichas Universidades* (n. pr. 1627), kept at the Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/13027/21.

16 Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño A., "El favor real: liberalidad del príncipe y jerarquía de la república (1665–1700)" in Contonisio C. – Mozzarelli C. (eds.), *Repubblica e virtù: Pensiero político e Monarchia Cattolica fra XVI e XVII secolo* (Rome: 1995) 393–453.

The reason the Castilian universities targeted their complaints on the liberality of the king was a question of perspective. A magnificent man must spend whatever is required by a magnificent work, which must stand out for its aesthetic quality and its use for the common good. The Castilian universities' protests, however, were primarily driven by rivalry. Therefore, they focused mainly on the Jesuits, portraying them as self-interested and cunning flatterers who had misled the King by convincing him of the need for a university in Madrid run by them. The crux of the issue was the fair distribution of the king's financial resources. Certainly, if the allocation of the income to the Jesuits was not liberal, neither could the creation of the Reales Estudios be magnificent. But that was only tacitly assumed; the term magnificence did not appear in the protest.

The focus on the Jesuits' deceit of the King made it possible for the Castilian universities to criticise the initiative in harsh terms, and to warn him that, if he listened exclusively to the Society of Jesus, he ran the risk of being accused of tyranny. The king should make his decisions in consultation with the royal councils, in the same way that Rome was governed from the times of Romulus and Numa. But 'desde el punto que Tarquino començo a resoluer los negocios graues sin consulta del Senado [...] començaron con gran mengua de su crédito las quexas del pueblo dandole nombre de tirano' – 'from the moment Tarquin started to solve the important questions without consulting the Senate [...], his reputation started to be severely damaged by the complaints of the people, who called him a tyrant'.[17]

Whereas the foundation of the university favoured the Jesuits, Spanish subjects, already suffering from heavy taxation resulting from the Spanish monarchy's many military commitments, would now be additionally burdened with the cost of a useless initiative. The subscribers of the pamphlet reminded the King that levying unjust taxes was a mortal sin according to theologians like Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274). Instead of listening to self-seeking flatterers intent on convincing him that he enjoyed unlimited riches, the King should recall Seneca's *Letters*, which taught princes to act as if they were poor. Only then, by avoiding spending on superfluities, would they discover that they actually possessed enormous wealth.

In the eyes of the Castilian universities, not only were the Reales Estudios useless, but the initiative of the Jesuits also posed a real risk for young nobles. The court, a usual suspect in ascetic moral discourse because of its splendour, was a highly inappropriate environment for educating the youth. '¿[C]omo proponen a V. Magestad por justo, que se funda vna Vniversidad con

17 *Representación de las Universidades*, 1.

tan grandes estipendios en la Babilonia de vna Corte?' – '[H]ow can they maintain that it is fair to found a university with such big stipends in the Babylon of a court?'[18] Madrid was all comedies, feasts and entertainment. But apparently, added the Castilian universities insidiously, this was the place to be if one pursued favours, 'pues vemos quanto mejor consiguen los Abitos y Encomiendas los que gastan su hazienda entretenidos en la Corte que los que siruen en las campañas en Flandes' – 'because we can see that those who spend their riches on courtly entertainment are much more easily rewarded with *hábitos* [membership of a military order] and *encomiendas* [territories providing income belonging to military orders] than those who serve in the campaigns in Flanders'.[19]

The Jesuits, speaking through Padre Juan Bautista de Poza (1588–1659), responded to the pamphlet point by point.[20] In the first sentence, Poza stated that the foundation was the consequence of the King's liberality, providence, and piety, and he also explicitly mentioned the King's magnificence. By no means was it his sole decision: he had discussed the project with his councils, and anyone who doubted this could consult the documentation in possession of the Colegio Imperial, the councils and juntas, as well as the royal decrees. Poza added that the decision to found a university at the court was not exceptional, as examples from Paris, Prague, Vienna and Rome showed. He remarked ironically that, indeed, the Assyrians and the Chaldeans had a university at the court of Babylon. Even the Jews who decided to stay in Babylon after Cyrus the Great had allowed them to return to Judah in 539 BCE proposed founding a university there according to the Law of Moses.

The teachings provided at the Reales Estudios, continued Poza, would indeed be centred on letters, and classical and modern languages 'que son de mucho adorno para los caballeros y gente noble' – 'which are fitting adornments for gentlemen and nobles'.[21] Poza stated that nobles considered a university education inappropriate for their first-borns, who were destined to represent the family's reputation at court. The focus of the universities on the higher faculties of law and theology could be a good means of helping second sons secure an honourable position in the church or in the royal

18 Ibidem, 14.

19 Ibidem, 39.

20 Poza Juan Bautista, *Por los Estudios Reales que el Rey Nuestro ha fundado en el Colegio Imperial de la Compañía de Iesus de Madrid*, memorial kept at the Real Academia de Historia, *Jesuitas*, vol. 142. The memorial is partly transcribed in Simón Díaz, *Historia del Colegio Imperial* 169–173.

21 Poza Juan Bautista, *Por los Estudios Reales*.

administration, but first-borns were required to enact their supposed moral excellence at court. The Reales Estudios aimed to cater to this specific need.

This focus was apparent at the inauguration in the month of February 1629, solemnly held in the presence of the King, the Queen and their courtiers. The students of the Reales Estudios performed an allegorical play about the school's foundation, which was an initial demonstration of the Jesuit teachings. The play, suitably adapted to the circumstances, contained many references to the controversy with the Castilian universities. Jupiter represented King Philip IV, hunting on the banks of the river Manzanares, which flows through the court of Madrid, the 'new Athens'. Minerva, born out of Jupiter's head, represented the Reales Estudios. The resistance to Jupiter's plan to found the Reales Estudios in Madrid came from Neptune, who was assisted by Medusa, the personification of ambition, licentious court life, and corruption of the youth. The god of the seas offered Medusa the support of the rivers Tormes and Henares, a reference to the rivers that flow through the cities of the Castilian universities Salamanca and Alcalá de Henares. However, they could not stop Perseus, who embodies the merits that stem from studiousness, from cutting off Medusa's head. Finally, with the advice of Mercury, the god of science, and Olimpio, who represented the Count-Duke of Olivares, Jupiter decided to proceed with his plans.[22]

Poetic justice in this allegorical play was the Jesuits' way of defending their initiative: the Reales Estudios was an instrument to prevent the corruption of youth through education. This is how, in the end, attention was again focussed on the royal foundation as a magnificent event, and accordingly, on the magnificence of Philip IV. The teachers at the Reales Estudios could now begin to educate young Spanish nobles. This involved dealing with moral controversies over magnificence on a pedagogical level. How could the aristocratic lifestyle and the temptations of the court, which were part and parcel of the performance of magnificence, be reconciled with the ascetic moral teachings of the Jesuits? How could the material expression of magnificence, regarded in ascetic discourses as mere outward appearance, be reconciled with spirituality? The Christian reception of the Aristotelian virtue of magnificence, which only the extremely rich could practise, had been polemic since patristic times: to harmonize splendorous displays with Christian poverty and frugality seemed as difficult to put into practice as it was for a camel to go through the eye of a

22 I follow the interpretation made by Simón Díaz, *Historia del Colegio Imperial* 98, and Roux, "Cent ans d'expérienc" 519–521 of this allegorical play.

needle.[23] But, if the Jesuits wanted to fulfil their ambition to teach nobles how to live according to the teachings of Christ, they had to find a way round this paradox. Nieremberg would tackle the question in his *Obras y días.*

3 Magnificence: Virtue or Appearance?

Born in Madrid, Juan Eusebio was the son of Gottfried Nieremberg and Regina Ottin.[24] They had abandoned the Holy Roman Empire in 1582 in the retinue of Empress Maria of Austria, who, after being widowed, decided to spend her last years in the Convent of Las Descalzas Reales in Madrid. In 1614 Juan Eusebio was admitted to the Society of Jesus, and in 1623 he was ordained to the priesthood. In 1629, he became a teacher at the Reales Estudios. This year also saw the appearance of his advice book *Obras y Días*, which he had written to be used in this college. Dedicated to the Count Duke of Olivares, who had promoted the foundation of the college, it defines the moral and theological virtues, listing forty-five of them and explaining their meaning in relation to the good life.

Nieremberg would become one of the leading Spanish scholars of his time, writing works on theological questions, biblical exegesis, spiritual ascetics, moral philosophy, politics, and natural history.[25] His influence was not limited to the field of science and teaching, but also extended to the worldly sphere of the court.[26] Apart from a scholar, author and teacher, he was confessor to Margaret of Savoy (1589–1655), a cousin of Philip IV. He also formed part of the Junta de Teólogos, the committee entrusted with defining the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, an essential feature of the spiritual identity of

23 Brown P., *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350–550 AD* (Princeton, NJ: 2012).

24 For biographical notes see Hendrickson, *Jesuit Polymath*; Marcaida López J.R., *José Eusebio Nieremberg y la ciencia del Barroco: Conocimiento y representación de la naturaleza en la España del siglo XVII* (Unpublished PhD thesis defended in 2011 at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid); Didier H., *Vida y pensamiento de Juan E. Nieremberg* (Salamanca: 1976).

25 He was recognized as a leading scholar by, among others, the seventeenth-century author Francisco de Quevedo. On his reputation see Marcaida López, *Juan Eusebio Nieremberg* 27, 32.

26 A political analysis of his works in Chaparro Martínez S., *Providentia. El discurso político providencialista español de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: 2012). See also Jiménez Pablo E., *La forja de una identidad. La Compañía de Jesús (1540–1640)* (Madrid: 2014) 382–411.

the seventeenth-century Spanish monarchy.[27] However, Nieremberg was still at the beginning of his career when he published his manual *Obras y días*, the first book he wrote. His appointment as a teacher at the Reales Estudios was probably the consequence of a recommendation from Olivares's Jesuit confessor Francisco Aguado (1571–1654).[28]

In *Obras y días* Nieremberg was critical of magnificence in the sense of the splendour that pertained to the noble condition: pomp was part of a nobleman's way of life, but was certainly not its raison d'être, he maintained. Being noble was, for Nieremberg, essentially a moral qualification; it referred to a person's propensity to virtue. His moral stance regarding nobility was not exceptional, but nor was it the only voice in the debate on the way nobles and princes should fulfil their exemplary role in society.[29] How should they spend their riches and display them with decorum, and how important were they to noble status?

Early modern Spanish authors of moral treatises frequently differed in their opinion on the limits of decency in expenditure on luxury. The Aristotelian author Antonio de Obregón y Cereceda, who published a princely mirror for Philip III in 1603, for instance, considered lavish spending on feasts and games an appropriate expression of magnificence.[30] The chronicler Alonso Núñez de Castro (1627–1695), in his treatise *Libro histórico politico: Solo Madrid es corte y el cortesano en Madrid* (*Book of political history: Only Madrid is the court and the courtier in Madrid*) (1658),[31] related the prince's magnificence to the beauty of his palaces, the presence of guards, servants and other courtiers in royal ceremonies, and the number of people in his entourage.[32] Nieremberg, however,

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27 The Junta was created in 1616 by Philip III to promote the declaration of the dogma in Rome and to popularize its cult in the kingdoms of the Spanish monarchy. See Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño A., "'¡Quieren los españoles definir!': La Inmaculada Concepción y la Monarquía de España durante el siglo XVII", in González Tornel P. (ed.), *Unblemished Mary. Politics and Religiosity in Baroque Spain* (Valencia: 2017) 55–73.

28 Hendrickson, *Jesuit Polymath* 13, n. 8.

29 On the Spanish discourse regarding the essence of nobility see Guillén Berrendero J.A., *La idea de la nobleza en Castilla durante el reinado de Felipe II* (Valladolid: 2007).

30 Obregón y Cereceda Antonio de, *Discursos sobre la filosofía moral de Aristóteles* (Valladolid, Luis Sánchez: 1603) 106.

31 Núñez de Castro Alonso, *Libro histórico-político: Solo Madrid es corte y el cortesano en Madrid* (Madrid, Domingo García Morrás: 1669) 120–121. The title refers to the advantages of Madrid as a courtly city, and to the political instruction given in the book to courtiers in Madrid. See also the essay written by Félix Labrador and José Eloy Hortal Muñoz in this volume.

32 The display of royal magnificence was no inhibition for aristocratic magnificence (which was, of course, limited by the rules of decorum). The historian Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño speaks in this context about the 'cortes compuestas' – 'composite courts' of

significantly stated that the 'apparent' splendour of a nobleman's household and the number of servants he employed revealed little about his virtue.[33] Nor did he include expenditure on courtly entertainment in his interpretation of an appropriate performance of magnificence.

Nieremberg's critical stance on outward displays does not mean that he condemned luxury per se, or that he thought that the aristocratic lifestyle was incompatible with moral integrity.[34] He expressly mentioned that those by whom virtue desired most eagerly to be caressed and possessed were nobles, princes and kings. However, they did have an enormous responsibility: the noble condition could by no means be taken for granted. If a nobleman did not practise virtue, he lost his honour, which was only provisionally granted to him at birth. Moreover, he added that whereas it was very shameful for a nobleman to lose the honour freely given to him when born, all the more glorious was the person who earned it exclusively through his own effort and strength. Virtue, therefore, could not be automatically attributed to the nobility, nor was its possession their privilege.[35]

Why, then, did virtue 'prefer' the company of the nobility? Nobles and princes, as secular rulers, had a special responsibility towards the common people, who, dazzled by their riches and pomp, mistakenly thought that virtue resided in external appearance. This turned noblemen into models of behaviour. Although their wealth was unattainable for commoners, the latter could at least imitate their manners. Therefore, the highborn, as a mirror for the rest of society, had the moral obligation to cultivate their moral excellence.[36] By attracting the attention of less well-educated or illiterate subjects, who were easily impressed, displays of magnificence thus had an instrumental meaning: they were like the sugar coating on the bitter pill of virtue.

But if displays of magnificence were the sweetener, what was the bitter pill of virtue itself? In other words, what was magnificence as a virtue? What was the substance of splendour? Nieremberg's interpretation of magnificence as a virtue was in keeping with the religious and ecclesiastical context of the

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the Spanish Monarchy, characterized by both royal and aristocratic representation. See Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño A., "Corte y cortesanos en la Monarquía de España" in Patrizi G. – Quondam A. (eds.), *Educare il corpo, educare la parola nella trattatistica del Rinascimento* (Roma: 1998) 297–365.

33 Nieremberg, *Obras y días* 152v.

34 For a general analysis of the Jesuits' attitude towards the elites, see Goujon P., "Elites and the Constitution of the Jesuit Identity", in Županov I.G. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits* (New York, NY: 2019) 177–192.

35 Ibidem, 17v.

36 Ibidem, 18v.

Counter-Reformation, as he defined it in the light of the theological polemic on 'good works', challenging Luther's rejection of them as mere outward appearance. He did this implicitly, through metaphorical play. For Nieremberg, a Christian had to express virtues in good works, which he called 'golden apples'.[37] This can be read as a response to Luther's reference to Christ's words that 'A good tree cannot bear bad fruit, nor can a bad tree bear good fruit' (*Math.* 7:18) in the context of this controversy.

For Martin Luther (1483–1546), a human being was essentially morally corrupt because of original sin and therefore unable to perform good works springing from true inner moral strength.[38] In this light, good works were rapidly associated with hypocrisy, an outward appearance that concealed lack of true faith. This perspective was especially applicable to the virtue of magnificence, which, because of its external expression in luxury and splendour, was among the virtues most likely to be criticised as consisting of false appearances that had little to do with moral integrity. Moreover, the ornamentation of churches and the ostentatious celebration of masses – a more acceptable expression of magnificence compared to the embellishment of palaces and courtly festivities – had precisely become a focal point of Protestant criticism of the Catholic Church since the construction of St Peter's Basilica.

Luther had used Christ's words to frame good works as mere appearance.[39] Just as fruits did not make a tree good or bad, but rather the quality of the tree determined the condition of its fruits, so were good works merely a consequence of a person's moral stature and not the other way around. According to Luther, moral integrity could only be the consequence of faith and grace (*sola fide, sola gratia*). Good works were an indirect consequence of one's faith and love for Jesus Christ, the true path to eternal salvation.

In contrast, Nieremberg, presenting virtue expressed in good works as the means of saving the soul, emphasised the relationship between the intrinsic will to do good and its expression in good works. This made virtue the greatest of God's gifts. God could have made men perfect, and avoided their fall, rendering salvation unnecessary. However, eternal bliss was something men deserved for their capacity to overcome the temptation of sin, to do good works, and to attain spiritual perfection. This way, God allowed men to reach salvation through their own strength. This, according to Nieremberg, was the basis of

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37 Ibidem, 3.

38 Wriedt M., "Luther's Theology", in McKim D.K., *The Cambridge Companion to Martin Luther* (Cambridge: 2003) 92.

39 The reference appears in different works of Luther, among them in *The Freedom of a Christian*. See Lull T.F. – Russell W.R. (eds.), *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings* (Minneapolis: 2012).

men's dignity, of men's own capacity, based on exercise, to achieve spiritual perfection, which made them 'deserve' salvation.

The good life, said Nieremberg, was a life of good works: no day could pass without performing virtue. That was the meaning of the handbook's title, which he borrowed from Hesiod: a day of idleness was a lost day, like a wild tree without fruits. Nieremberg stated that a man's value lay in the days he carried out good works, which were like golden apples. He was probably referring to the golden apples of the Hesperides, which granted eternal life. Good works, by analogy, guaranteed salvation. Faith could not be separated from the performance of good works.

Virtue, according to Nieremberg following Thomas Aquinas, was a 'good quality' of the soul whereby one lived righteously. It was the work of God within men. But Nieremberg also added a more practical definition of virtue: echoing Aristotle, he stated that virtue 'es un hábito para elegir lo que es recto, por el cual el hombre que le tiene se hace bueno y hace buenas sus obras' – 'is a habit that allows one to choose rightly, whereby a man who possesses it becomes good and makes his works good'.[40] Virtue, in conclusion, was in part the consequence of divine grace, but could not come to fruition without man's own decisions and actions: it was not based on faith alone, but had a mutually strengthening spiritual and practical dimension. Motivation and action necessarily went hand in hand.

Man, stated Nieremberg, was born as a weak creature, naked both in body and soul, tainted by sin, but once he received divine grace after his baptism, virtue allowed him to strengthen and put into practice his potential power to do good works. Although virtue came with divine grace, men themselves had to set virtue in motion through their free will. As one good action was not enough to call men good, they had to be constant throughout their lifetime; virtue should become a habit that made it possible to carry out good works with greater ease and fluency.[41] It strengthened itself through constant exercise, through work, and day by day.

A habit, from this perspective, bolstered one's spiritual disposition. However, this spiritual dimension was not so evident in the case of magnificence. What was the spiritual component of lavish spending? Nieremberg explained this by defining magnificence in relation to other virtues. Placing it in the context of other virtues made it possible to see the spiritual dimension of magnificence as a quality in which young noblemen could be trained. This perspective went

40 Nieremberg, *Obras y días* 5v.
41 Ibidem, 6v.

beyond the Aristotelian idea that magnificence was the golden mean between niggardliness and vulgarity.

4 Magnificence and Ascetics

In *Obras y días* Nieremberg first listed the most important theological virtues of faith, hope and charity, followed by the cardinal virtues accompanied by the specific virtues that belonged to their field. The intellectual virtue prudence, the 'master of the moral virtues', was named first as it guided the rest. Next came temperance, because to think clearly a person needed to subdue his appetites, then courage, necessary to control fear, and finally justice, the virtue that ordered the relationship with one's fellow men. Magnificence figured as one of the virtues belonging to the field of justice.

All virtues are each other's sisters, said Nieremberg. Nature threaded them 'como perlas riquíssimas [...], como en una sarta de sumo valor para atavio del alma' – 'like beautiful pearls [...], as in an extremely valuable string that decorates the soul'.[42] With this statement, he embraced the Aristotelian idea that all the virtues were related. Together they established a balance whereby a person could find the virtuous mean between the extremes. For example, magnanimity – which in recent translations of the *Nicomachean Ethics* has been called pride, that is, confidence in one's own virtuousness without needing admiration from others – offset magnificence insofar as it could lead to excessive expenditure stemming from vain attempts to impress one's fellow men.[43] On the other hand, some virtues were related by a similar purpose, such as magnificence and liberality, which both concerned the act of spending.

Nieremberg not only stated that they form a whole, but also stressed the concord between them, in the sense that they never competed with each other in the performance of a good work.[44] The virtues also formed a harmonious whole because the same primal force, charity, inspired them all. Love of God stirred both self-love expressed in the desire to improve spiritually and love for others shown in good works. This ultimately involved love for God's creation and thus for God himself as the Creator. Charity, according to Nieremberg, was the 'queen' of all the virtues, as it inspired them to action, just as, according to a

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42 Ibidem, 9.

43 David Ross translates megalopsychia as pride. See Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. Ross D., ed. Brown L. (Oxford: 2009) 224–225.

44 According to Nieremberg, vices, on the contrary, always compete. The idea that one may murder a man out of hatred, or to rob him, does not form part of his reflections.

courtly commonplace, love for a lady inspired a gentleman to virtuous actions. This harmony implied a hierarchy, though. As God created men for the 'city of heaven', they first needed the qualities to be able to dwell there with God and the angels.[45]

In his analysis of magnificence Nieremberg distinguished it from its sister virtue liberality. Whereas, according to him, liberality concerned relatively small expenses, magnificence entailed costly and large-scale works that must be appropriate to the circumstances, lasting, and performed for the well-being of the community. Liberality took into account the spender's economic situation; magnificence, however, involved freely spending whatever was necessary for a grand work. Nieremberg quoted in this context the classic proverb that for not wishing to spend on a quarter of pepper one could spoil a whole banquet. Magnificence was thus like spending on spices for a meal prepared for guests; it was the 'ornament and lustre' of liberality, to quote Nieremberg's words. The controversy over the Reales Estudios showed that liberality was, indeed, a precondition for magnificence.

Expenditures appropriate to magnificence concerned the worship of God, the building and restoration of churches, the foundation of hospitals, universities and colleges, and the building or fortification of walls for defending cities. Magnificent works should be the expression of the virtue of the spender, as opposed to the consequence of his richness and fortune. Nieremberg stated that this virtue found expression not only in the beauty of these works, but also in their usefulness for the community. When listing fitting examples, Nieremberg referred, among others, to magnificent works by kings from the past, such as Alfonso VIII (1155–1214), who founded the Convent of Las Huelgas in Burgos, the University of Palencia, and many other churches, hospitals, and schools.

Magnificence, according to this interpretation, was in line with the reception of Aristotle's definition by Thomas Aquinas or Giles of Rome (1243–1316): a virtue expressed in the construction of great works, preferably religious, with an aesthetic value, for the community. However, unlike Giles of Rome, Nieremberg did not mention royal or seigneurial palaces as examples of magnificence, and nor did he refer in this context to courtly feasts that expressed princely and aristocratic power. This was more than merely a Jesuit author's preference for religious constructions and works; it was in keeping with Nieremberg's specific spiritual interpretation of magnificence, which becomes clear when one reads it in the context of the other virtues he mentioned.

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45 Nieremberg, *Obras y días* 23.

As stated before, in Nieremberg's system, magnificence pertained to the virtues of justice. According to him, justice was the glory and lustre of cities and republics – a virtue that was mainly practised by secular rulers. It concerned the relationship between the people and their ruler, who had to guarantee that each of his subjects received his or her corresponding rewards, compensations, honours or punishments, as established in contracts and laws, or expressed in promises. Justice was a virtue of the will and, as such, differed from prudence (which concerned the intellect) or those relating to temperance (which involved the containment of passions). Nieremberg gave justice a spiritual interpretation: justice was very much like charity and mercy, because the will to do justice, like the will to alleviate people's poverty and misfortune, stemmed from love for others and, ultimately, from love for God. In Nieremberg's view, magnificence pertained to justice as it provided for people's needs through works that contributed to the common good, and was inspired by love for one's subjects and for God.[46]

In the section on the virtue of justice, magnificence formed a triad with liberality and poverty. While the presence of liberality is understandable, that of poverty might strike us as surprising considering the noble condition of the readers of *Obras y días*. However, for Nieremberg poverty was first and foremost a spiritual condition, an utter contempt for richness and luxury. And an important one too: as a virtue it occupied pride of place between liberality and magnificence, which was reflected in the order of the manual's chapters.

Taking into account that virtues expressed spiritual dispositions in actions, how should the rich practise poverty? It is from this perspective that this virtue is related to liberality and magnificence. As Aristotle stated, a person could only be liberal if he gave freely and with pleasure, and the same was true of the magnificent spender. Nieremberg related giving without pain to detachment from wealth, that is, to being poor in spirit. This poverty was a spiritual condition, it had no limits; there was no Aristotelian mean: the greater the contempt for richness and material comfort, the better. The Castilian universities, when pointing out their objections, had also recommended this poverty of spirit to the King. It was a Stoic commonplace. Nieremberg, however, did not limit himself to providing an example, but explained how this virtue could be turned into a habit.

Poverty, as a spiritual virtue, required training through mental exercises. Nieremberg suggested reflecting on one's feelings when giving alms to those in need, rewarding servants for their merits, or spending on the common good. If this proved painful, or if one secretly made these expenditures out of personal

46 Ibidem, 118.

interest – for example, with the hope of enhancing one's reputation – one did not yet have a sufficient command of poverty. Furthermore, the respect one felt for a rich person and his display of wealth indicated that one still suffered from the vice of greed. The virtue of poverty, when mastered, contributed to the exercise of the virtue of magnificence, in the sense that spending would be carried out for the right reasons and with joy.[47]

In addition, the virtues of humility and parsimony, both belonging to the cardinal virtue of temperance, ensured that magnificence was not corrupted by the vice of vanity.[48] Humility prevented magnificence from turning into a vicious vehicle for self-promotion. Honour could only be the unintended consequence, never the purpose, of magnificent performance. Again, humility, primarily expressed towards God, was a spiritual virtue and therefore had no limits: it was not possible to overestimate God's greatness in comparison to the smallness of a human being.

Parsimony, 'que guarda el decoro en lo que toca al adorno del cuerpo, y lustre exterior' – 'which ensures decorum in relation to the adornment of the body and external lustre',[49] helped resist the temptation to spend excessively on splendour. It was in the chapter on parsimony that Nieremberg explained that a nobleman had to dress with modesty and to maintain a discreet household, albeit without succumbing to the vice of misery; after all, nobles had to uphold their status. Due ornament in dress was primarily expressed by cleanliness, and not so much by costly accessories. Moreover, the orderly functioning of the household spoke more about the virtue of the owner than its size. Parsimony entailed saving money on decorum, but not out of avarice; the objective was to free up resources for magnificent and liberal spending.

Thus, the Aristotelian mean as expressed in appropriate expenditure consonant with the rules of decorum on dress, household and palace – which, according to authors such as Obregón and Nuñez de Castro, was the essence of magnificence – was classified by Nieremberg under the virtue of parsimony. Although parsimony 'corseted' magnificence as it prescribed a sparse expression of luxury, for Nieremberg the basis of magnificence was poverty in the sense of detachment from wealth, rather than a balanced employment of material resources. Spiritual ascetics, more than the Aristotelian golden mean, was the essence of the practice of magnificence.

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47 Ibidem, 168v–169.

48 Ibidem, 176.

49 Ibidem, 90.

Nieremberg ended his book with a recommendation on the exercise of virtue in practice.[50] A nobleman should not be too ambitious, but should start by studying one virtue at a time. Every evening, he should recall that day's actions, and reflect on how to improve them the following day. Nieremberg recommended first tackling the most visible and pernicious vices by practising the virtues of frugality, justice, meekness, truth, observance, affability, mercy and liberality. However, on other occasions he singled out the virtues that were especially appropriate to nobles, such as magnanimity and magnificence. Finally, he stated that the virtue a person should hone first depended on the particular circumstances of a situation. Therefore, different reading orders were possible, depending on the particular virtue the reader wished to address. As all the virtues were connected, to gain an understanding of a virtue and its different relations, readers needed to examine different chapters at the same time. This explains the many cross-references to different virtues in the book.

Reading *Obras y días* was, in a sense, like reading Julio Cortazar's modern novel *Rayuela* (*Hopscotch*) (1963): the conventional order was possible, but so too was a subjective order, which revealed different dimensions of a virtue since it should always be prudentially adapted to the circumstances. A reading inspired by a reflection on a decision involving major expenditures could start with magnificence but, depending on the circumstances and the objective of the spending, led subsequently to other virtues: poverty, liberality, religion, justice, temperance, charity and so on. The prudential application of the virtues required the reader to continuously consult the handbook, which entailed a constant reflection on one's own actions in daily life. Reading the manual was a spiritual exercise that allowed the reader to understand the virtues in their multiple dimensions and to contemplate his actions from manifold perspectives.

Nieremberg recommended not only spiritual but also physical training in the form of chivalric exercises to ensure a good performance on occasions where magnificence was displayed. In his analysis of the virtue of urbanity, moderate enjoyment of the pleasures of life, Nieremberg mentioned hunting, music, chivalric exercises, and dance. The pleasure of play, according to him, was conducive to the acquisition of good habits. Humans shared this trait with animals. Just as when greyhounds chased each other they trained their physical skills necessary for hunting, so too did human beings learn through dance to move with grace and modesty. Nieremberg recommended playful activities of this kind especially at public events such as tournaments, balls, and other

50 Ibidem, 215–220v.

courtly festivities. Public exposure, he said, increased the effort one put into training these qualities.

5 Final Remarks

Spiritual and physical exercises prevented young noblemen from falling prey to the dangers that potentially accompanied displays of magnificence at court. These involved mental training that taught them to despise the outward appearance of splendour. The resulting emotional detachment made it possible to spend lavishly and freely, giving what was necessary for grand, preferably pious, works motivated by love for others and for God. In Nieremberg's view, this spiritual dimension ensured that magnificent works were not just a manifestation of good works, turned into mere show, and that handling riches did not corrupt young noblemen. Physical exercises in the form of courtly manners and chivalric exercises furthermore contributed to appropriate conduct in environments where they might otherwise be tempted to engage in unruly behaviour, such as magnificent courtly festivities.

This spiritual and physical training formed part of the curriculum of the Reales Estudios. The project, in spite of Olivares's expectations of creating a new morally upright elite, proved to be a failure. It turned out to be difficult to attract competent teachers, and there was a lack of interest from the Spanish nobility.[51] The Reales Estudios would not be the magnificent work the King and his *valido* wished it to be. Ultimately, the magnificence of a work not only depended on the intentions of the founders, but also on how it appeared to the eyes of society.

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51 Carrasco, "Los Estudios Reales" 110–112.

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PART 3

Architecture

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CHAPTER 8

Building Magnificence in the Dutch Golden Age: the Amsterdam Town Hall

Stijn Bussels and Bram Van Oostveldt

Although the Dutch seventeenth century is generally acknowledged as a Golden Age,[1] historians seldom characterize it as magnificent. They traditionally focus on the ideal of devoutness and sobriety in Dutch society, with Calvinism and the rise of capitalism as driving forces.[2] So why should we look at the young Republic in a book volume devoted to the appropriation of the ancient and medieval concept of *magnificentia*? In what follows, we will clarify that we urgently need to focus on the United Provinces because in the seventeenth century the Dutch eagerly used the concept of *magnificentia* to deal with what Simon Schama has called their 'embarrassment of riches'.[3] The Dutch were wealthy and deep down they wanted the whole world to know it.[4] However, more than anywhere else, the young Republic was in search of a thorough legitimization of their fame and fortune; how to blow one's own trumpet when Calvinist preachers shouted out their severe lessons on simplicity from pulpits

1 Most recently, the term 'Dutch Golden Age' is heavily criticized as it ignores the poverty, war, forced labor and human trafficking, among other leading to the decision of the Amsterdam Museum not to use the term any longer, see: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/sep/13/end-of-golden-age-amsterdam-museum-bans-term-from-exhibits (accessed: 14.10.2019). However, a running research project led by Jan Blanc at the University of Geneva shows that it still relevant to consider the Dutch seventeenth century as a 'Golden Age'. The project rethinks the term by analyzing the manner in which it was defined, thought and described in the seventeenth century itself, by the Dutch as well as by foreigners who observed the country, see: https://www.dutch-golden-ages.com (accessed: 14.10.2019).

2 See the concept of 'innerworldly asceticism' as developed in Weber M., *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* (Hamburg: 1973). There is extensive literature discussing and criticizing Weber's thesis, Maan's essay is a good introduction to these discussions with a rich bibliography: Maan T., "Material Culture and Popular Calvinist Worldliness in the Dutch 'Golden Age'", *History Compass* 9, 4 (2011) 284–299.

3 Schama S., *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: 1987).

4 Vries Jan de, "Luxury and Calvinism/ Luxury and Capitalism: Supply and Demand for Luxury Goods in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic", *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999) 73–85.

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everywhere in the land.[5] These lessons echoed loudly in the Dutch streets and ended up in the houses of rich burghers in the form of profoundly alluring still life paintings expressing themes of *memento mori* and *vanitas*.[6]

In this essay, we will look at how the Dutch negotiated doubts concerning their self-expressions of wealth, through appropriation of the centuries-old concept of *magnificentia*, and we will do this by focusing on how poets and visual artists defended the new, very expensive Town Hall of Amsterdam. They often emphasised that the building was an expression of magnificence in the literal sense of *magnum facere*, the splendorous performance of expensive, broad-minded and well-considered acts by the burgomasters for their city. Whereas poets and artists fully acknowledged the expense of building the Town Hall, they legitimised these vast expenditures by declaring that building was a necessary medium for the public expression of Amsterdam's prominent position in the world, and for further securing that position.

1 Amsterdam In Search of Magnificence

The construction of the Town Hall started in the wake of the Peace of Münster of 1648. Whereas the building was already inaugurated in 1655, the construction was only finished at the end of the century.[7] It is generally recognized as the masterpiece of the famous architect Jacob van Campen (1596–1657). Architectural historians present it time and again as the paragon of Dutch Classicism.[8] Thus they put the focus on the importance of the architectural rules that the Roman architect Vitruvius formulated and that van Campen adapted for concrete use influenced by Italian architects such as Scamozzi and Palladio.[9]

However, due to the focus on the innovative architectural style in modern studies on the Town Hall, an important aspect of the building is now left out of sight, although it was very prominent in the period of its construction, namely,

5 For more nuance, see Parker C.H., "Reformed Protestantism", in Helmers H.J. – Janssen G.H. (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge: 2018) 189–207.

6 Franits W., "Genre Painting", in Helmers – Janssen, *The Cambridge Companion* 268–288.

7 For a detailed discussion of the construction, see Vlaardingerbroek P., *Het paleis van de Republiek: Geschiedenis van het stadhuis van Amsterdam* (Zwolle: 2011). For an English study, Fremantle K., *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam* (Utrecht: 1959) is still a standard work.

8 For the latest view on Dutch Classicism, see Bussels S., "Dutch Classicism in Europe", in Helmers H. – Janssen G. (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge: 2018) 308–330.

9 See this excellent book on van Campen: Huisken J. – Ottenheym K. – Schwartz G. (eds.), *Jacob van Campen. Het klassieke ideaal in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: 1995).

the enormous sums of money spent. This intensified criticism of the building. Difficulties came from two directions: there were debates founded on religious grounds, as well as political troubles.

The religious critique fell back on the medieval belief that magnificence primarily had to concentrate on the worship of God. This belief prominently came to the fore when the large expenditures on the Town Hall collided with the plans for a tower for the Nieuwe Kerk (New Church) that was to have been the tallest tower in the Republic. Even in the rich city of commerce funds were not endless, so hard decisions had to be made. Recent studies have pointed out that the choice between the Town Hall and the new tower split the city government into two.[10] Eventually, the party advocating the former and thus a more independent political position in relation to religion won the power struggle. Ultimately, the plans for the tower would stay unrealized, with only the foundations being laid. The urgent need to express the prominence and authority of the city and its governors took precedence over plans to raise a token of religious magnificence.

The need for a strong expression of civic magnificence was strongly fed by the political situation in the first years of construction of the Town Hall. Shortly after the Peace of Münster, Amsterdam and her rulers entered turbulent waters. In 1650, there was the coup d'état by stadtholder William II, Prince of Orange. Although that coup ultimately failed, it led the Amsterdam elite to realize that the relative independence and control over governmental affair they had enjoyed for more than half a century, was now under threat. They eagerly looked for a strong confirmation of the city's power in the form of the new Town Hall. When in 1652 the First Anglo-Dutch War broke out, the financial costs of that war for Amsterdam put the grand plans for the Town Hall at risk. However, seen from a long view, the war actually enforced the construction of the Town Hall, as the urgent need for a grand architectural statement of Amsterdam's power was felt more acutely.

2 Poets and Artists Enforcing Magnificence

So, the construction of the Town Hall proved impervious to religious critique and political crises precisely because both factors, at first sight counterproductive, actually enforced the conviction that Amsterdam should build the new

10 Dunk T. von der, *Toren versus traditie. De worsteling van classicistische architecten met een middeleeuws fenomeen* (Leiden: 2015) and Tussenbroek G. van, *De toren van de Gouden Eeuw. Een Hollandse strijd tussen gulden en God* (Amsterdam: 2017).

Town Hall as a strong expression of its magnificence. In what follows, we will clarify this point by analyzing poems and visual art dealing with the Town Hall. An exceptional number of laudatory poems, more than one hundred, was written to praise the building. These poems were recited on official occasions and disseminated in pamphlets and books.[11] In addition, dozens of paintings and drawings and hundreds of prints celebrated the building as the glory of Amsterdam and spread word of the city's magnificence to all corners of Europe.[12]

However, in our analysis we will go one decisive step further by pointing out that these texts and images did not only confirm the need for magnificence in mid seventeenth-century Amsterdam, they also enforced the magnificence of the city by (over-)stressing the strong impact of the Town Hall. This becomes especially clear through the fact that several poems, written long before the building was even visible, already describe the breathtaking effect of the building, and do so in the most explicit terms. This is certainly the case for the poems recited and distributed in pamphlets at the ceremonial setting of the foundation stone in 1648, such as *Bouw-zang aen Gerbrant Pankras, Jakob de Graef, Sybrant Valconier, Peter Schaep* (Building-song) where Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) writes:

> Zoo kroont ze 't mercktvelt van de stadt,
> Den Visschersdam, met een gebouw
> Waer voor d'Athener strijken zou,
> En stom staen met zijn' open mont.[13]
>
> Thus she [the City Maiden] crowns the market of the city,
> The Fishers' Dam, with a building
> For which the Athenian would yield,
> And stay stumped with his open mouth.

11 Research on these sources is primarily done in the PhD project of Laura Plezier as part of the ERC starting grant 'Elevated Minds. The Sublime in the Public Arts in Seventeenth-Century Paris and Amsterdam'. Cf. the study of Spies M., "Minerva's commentaar. Gedichten rond het Amsterdamse stadhuis", *De zeventiende eeuw* 9 (1993) 15–34.

12 Goossens E.-J., *Het Amsterdamse Paleis. Schat van beitel en penseel* (Zwolle – Amsterdam: 1996) and Bussels S., *Het portret van een gebouw. Oratie uitgesproken bij de aanvaarding van het ambt van hoogleraar in de Kunstgeschiedenis* (Leiden: 2018): https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/algemeen/oraties/oratie-bussels-totaal.pdf (accessed: 14.10.2019).

13 Vondel Joost van den, "Bouwzang aen Gerbrant Pankras, Jakob de Graef, Sybrant Valconier, Peter Schaep", in Goedesberg Gerrit van (ed.), *Olyf-krans der vreede* (Amsterdam, Tymen Houthaak: 1649) 393. These early poems will be thoroughly discussed in the dissertation of Laura Plezier, cf. note 11.



FIGURE 8.1 Jacob van der Ulft, *The Town Hall on Dam Square* (1653). Drawing, 415 × 541 mm. Collection Atlas Splitgerber, City Archive Amsterdam

So, long before the Town Hall was visible, prominent poets like Vondel were already spreading the belief that everyone, even the ancient Greeks, would be awestruck by the building. Moreover, thanks to these early poems it becomes all the more evident that the laudatory poems were far from neutral accounts. The burgomasters were well aware of the importance of the laudatory poems: from the moment construction began, they commissioned poems written to legitimise the inevitably massive expenses that would be incurred for years to come.[14]

We can even speak of a multimedia campaign, as besides these poets, visual artists were also urged to visualize the plans for the Town Hall. There were several images made showing the Town Hall in a finished state years before this was actually the case. Jacob van der Ulft's drawing of Dam Square is without any doubt the most influential example of this. It was copied till far into the eighteenth century and widely distributed in several paintings and hundreds of prints, in loose-leaf format, collections of cityscapes or city guides [Fig. 8.1]. The drawing also makes clear that in the early fifties, attempts were made to

14 Smits-Veldt M.B., "De viering van de Vrede van Munster in Amsterdam: de dichters Geeraardt Brandt en Jan Vos bevestigen hun maatschappelijk positie", *De zeventiende eeuw* 13 (1997) 196.

bring together the plans for the new Town Hall with the plans for the tall tower for the Nieuwe Kerk.

Generally speaking, we see that many visual artists in the second half of the seventeenth century honoured the Town Hall as they emphasised, even exaggerated, its splendour with a well-considered use of perspective and color. In doing so, they pointed spectators at the almost supernatural allure of the building. Artists represented the Town Hall time and again as even larger and even brighter than it was in reality, but at the same time often showed it surrounded by the hustle and bustle of Dam Square in the foreground. The paintings, drawings and prints show citizens of Amsterdam and people from distant places, alike admiring the building.

In a similar way, the many poets who praised the Town Hall emphasised its magnificence. In the seventeenth century we encounter the adjective *magnifiek* (magnificent) and the noun *magnificentie* (magnificence) being used to designate splendid ancient and modern cities and their most impressive buildings. For example, in a pamphlet of 1611, Willem Baudartius honours the *Heerlicke Magnifike Stadt-huys* (Splendid, Magnificent Town Hall) of Antwerp.[15] Nevertheless, the words *magnifiek* and *magnificentie* can rarely be found in the laudatory poems on the Amsterdam Town Hall. This certainly should not be taken to imply that the concept of magnificence was absent. On the contrary, it is often a central concern of the laudatory poems, expressed in terms of *ghrootdaadigheidt* (performance of great deeds).[16] Poets laud the founding burgomasters for their exceptional foresight, wisdom and courage in seeing that construction of a grand building was a real necessity for the city.[17]

In a comparable manner, visual artists place Amsterdamers and foreigners on the Dam, immersed in conversation and trade in front of the monumental

15 Baudartius Willem, *Morghen-wecker der vrye Nederlantsche Provintien* (Danswick, Crijn Vermeulen de Jonge: 1610) fol. F1r: https://www.dbnl.nl/tekst/baud002morg01_01/baud002morg01_01_0002.php?q=magnif*#hl1 (accessed: 14.10.2019). See lemma 'magnifiek' in Moerdijk F. (ed.), *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* ('s-Gravenhage: 1864–2001):

http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNT&id=M038238&lemmodern=magnifiek&domein=0&conc=true (accessed: 14.10.2019). A fine example is Bredero Gerbrand Adriaensz., *Tragedische ofte klachelijcke historien* (Amsterdam, Fransz & vander Plasse: 1612) where the adjective *magnifiek* and the noun *magnificentie* are both used abundantly to name persons, objects, buildings, cities and performances.

16 See Meyer Lodewijk, *Woordenschat in drie deelen ghescheiden* (Amsterdam, Weduwe van Jan Boom: 1669) 209 where 'magnificentie' is defined as 'heerlijkheidt, pracht, ghrootdaadigheidt'.

17 A preliminary study was published as Bussels S., "Meer te verwonderen, als immer te doorgronden. Het Amsterdamse stadhuis, een overweldigende burgerspiegel", *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 126, 2 (2013) 234–248.

Town Hall, and poets present the building as the requisite means whereby the burgomasters express and confirm Amsterdam's leading position in the world. The message was repeated time and again that the Town Hall, howsoever expensive to build, would serve the common cause exceptionally. First, the defenders of the Town Hall present the magnificent building as the city's crowning achievement, an incontrovertible sign of its excellence. Second, the poets associate the concept of magnificence with the rulers of the Amsterdam, by pointing out that their high qualities are expressed and even enforced by the building. The Town Hall functioned for the burgomasters as the monumental embodiment of the respectability, providence, competence and vigour of the citizens of Amsterdam, as well as of themselves.

3 Vondel and Ovens

In order to ascertain how the laudatory poems explore the concept of magnificence, we would like to focus on the most famous poem written on the Town Hall, namely, another laudation by Joost van de Vondel, his *Inwydinge van 't stadhuis t'Amsterdam* (Inauguration of the Amsterdam Town Hall).[18] This poem is substantially longer than the average laudation, it consists of no less than 1378 verses, and as the title states, it was written for the building's inauguration. Once again, the text is far from a neutral account of the new building, but tries maximally to enforce the position of the Amsterdam burgomasters, who in fact reacted accordingly by giving Vondel a silver platter.[19] Throughout the poem the concept of magnificence counts as the first and foremost argument justifying praise of the building. Vondel presents the Town Hall as an indispensable instrument for showing the power of Amsterdam and her rulers, but also of preserving the city's prosperity and, by extension, the prosperity of the whole Republic.

Vondel's rhetorical tour de force reaches its climax when he describes how the most exquisite building materials were supplied from the whole of Europe (vv. 554–564). He compares this with the mythological heroes Orpheus and Amphion who used their music to move trees and stones. The Amsterdam burgomasters, by contrast, do not need magic, since their worldly power is more than sufficient to bring more than a thousand huge Scandinavian tree trunks,

18 See Albrecht S. – De Ruyter O. – Spies M., *Vondels Inwydinge van 't stadhuis t'Amsterdam* (Muiderberg: 1982).

19 Brandt Geeraardt, *Het leven van Joost van den Vondel*, ed. P. Leendertsz Jr. (Franeker, Leonard Strik: 1682; reprint, 's-Gravenhage: 1932) 58. Cf. Spies, "Minerva's commentaar" 15.

as well as massive stones from Bremen and Bentheim, to Amsterdam. However, the *maetzang* (harmony) that Orpheus and Amphion bring about with their music, is for Vondel also clearly noticeable in the Town Hall. The harmony does not only come from the music of the building's carillon, but permeates its very fabric, thanks to the perfect proportions of the building.

For the creation of these harmonic proportions, Van Campen is given full credit. Vondel mentions him as the energetic and audacious architect. By following ancient rules of architecture, his building spreads harmony throughout *'t Gemeen* (society). However, Vondel gives most of the credit to the burgomasters whom he presents as the real persons in charge. The poet recollects how the great crowd of citizens who gathered to celebrate the setting of the foundation stone. Everyone present wished for the successful completion of this marvellous endeavour as the burgomasters embarked upon it (vv. 610–611). It is Amsterdam's rulers themselves who are seen actually to perform magnificence, not only in the ceremony around the foundation stone, but more essentially in the project of constructing the Town Hall.

The renowned poet concludes his extensive poem by imagining the Seven Provinces coming together to celebrate the Town Hall, thus fully acknowledging that the building will bring fortune far beyond Amsterdam. Following Vondel, the Provinces see the building as the primary means of perpetuating the wisdom of the Amsterdam government, which is vital for the wellbeing of the entire Republic:

> De Zeven volcken, alle uit eenen Duitschen stam,
> Bekennen dat hun heil, van Godt en Amsterdam,
> Gelijck een morgendau en zegen, neêr komt vallen.
> Zy eeren nu, om strijt, de Wijsheit, daer dees wallen
> Op wassen in hun ronde, en stercken 's lants gezagh.
> Zy wenschen datze noit van 't Raethuis scheiden magh,
> Maer kroonen dezen bouw, met titelen en naemen
> Van Heeren, die hunn' stoel en kussen niet beschaemen
> (vv. 1371–1378).[20]
>
> The Seven people, all from one German tribe,
> Acknowledge that their salvation, from God and Amsterdam,
> Drips down like the morning dew and blessing.
> They honour now, in turns, the Wisdom, that supports
> These walls around, and enforce the country's rule.

20 Albrecht – De Ruyter – Spies, *Vondels Inwydinge* 187. Translation by the author.



FIGURE 8.2 Jürgen Ovens (attributed), *Burgomasters of Amsterdam in Front of the Town Hall under Construction* (ca. 1660). Chalk and pencil, 408 × 635 mm. Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle (inv. nr. 765)
IMAGE © CHRISTOPH IRRGANG

> They wish that She will never be divided from the Town Hall,
> But will keep on crowning the building, with titles and names
> Of Lords, that will not bring to shame their chairs and cushions.

In a drawing attributed to Jürgen Ovens (1623–1678), we find a message of magnificence similar to that in Vondel's poem [Fig. 8.2]. We see the four burgomasters standing in front of the Town Hall, which is still under construction. The burgomasters are immersed in a conversation about how to respond to the appeals of the kneeling and enchained men and women before them. The nearby statue of the Goddess Justitia serves to emphasise that they are giving this question careful consideration. Moreover, the artist puts the burgomasters next to the City Maiden of Amsterdam, who sits enthroned on a triumphal wagon. Just like Vondel in his poem, this drawing shows the construction of the Town Hall as a triumph for Amsterdam and her rulers who dispose of divinely inspired wisdom. However, here not the Seven Provinces come to admire the burgomasters and their Town Hall, but Neptune, tritons and hippocamps. Later onwards, the antique sea god and his retinue will populate the tympanum of the Town Hall, beside the personification of Amsterdam, to illustrate that the city rules over the seas.



FIGURE 8.3 Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde, *The Town Hall on Dam Square* (1660). Oil on canvas, 70 × 110 cm. Antwerp, Museum for Fine Arts (inv. nr. 11)
IMAGE © MUSEUM FOR FINE ARTS ANTWERP

This straightforward visual expression of the magnificence of the city and her rulers is rather exceptional. Whereas the drawing attributed to Ovens animates Neptune, Justitia and the City Maiden of Amsterdam in front of the Town Hall, many more artists simply portrayed the Town Hall, contrasting its monumentality with scenes of everyday life on Dam Square. Gerrit Berckheyde was most influential painter to do this.

4 Berckheyde and Rixtel

The Antwerp Museum of Fine Arts preserves one of the earliest of the 36 known paintings by Gerrit Berckheyde (1638–1698) depicting the Town Hall [Fig. 8.3].[21] The painter uses a large space to show Dam Square where a rich diversity of people gather to ply regional as well as international trade. The point of view and perspective, as well as the use of colour and sunlight, enable

21 Giltaij J. – Jansen G. (eds.), *Perspectiven. Saenredam en de architectuurschilders van de 17^e eeuw*, exh. cat., Museum Boijmans-van Beuningen (Rotterdam: 1991) cat. nr. 61 and Stapel L., *Perspectieven van de stad. Over bronnen, populariteit en functie van het zeventiende-eeuwse stadsgezicht* (Hilversum: 2000) 58–59.

the painter to emphasise the grandeur of the Town Hall. The grey stone of the Waag (Weigh House) is darkly shadowed. Moreover, the Weigh House covers the Nieuwe Kerk (New Church). Thus, the Town Hall commands full attention. Its white stone bathes in the sunlight, and the shadows, rather than obscuring the whole façade, enliven it.

The use of perspective enforces this liveliness. The spectator looks over the heads of the people on Dam Square straight at the Town Hall. As the vanishing point is not situated in the middle of the building, but shifted slightly left, the building seems to be turning a bit. Moreover, the vanishing point also lifts the façade slightly up, elevating the middle *risalto* and the carillon. Thanks to this effect, as well as the slight turning, the building seems to be animated, as if we are looking at a face and shoulders. So here, we can discern a 'portrait' of the building.

The interpretation of Berckheyde's painting as 'portraying' the Town Hall is not originally mine, but the interpretation of Pieter Rixtel (1643–1673) who wrote a laudatory poem on the painting in 1669, only one year after Berckheyde had finished it.[22] Thanks to the poem, we get a rare and precious insight into the reception of a painting depicting the Town Hall in the very same period that painting was made. In his poem, Rixtel brings the Town Hall to life. The building addresses the reader directly. She says that she greatly admires Berckheyde because he has 'portrayed' her in full grandeur. The personification of the Town Hall especially likes it that the painter has eternalized how she proudly lifts high her head resting on strong shoulders.

Just as in Vondel's laudatory poem on the Town Hall, in Rixtel's laudatory poem on Berckheyde's 'portrait' of the Town Hall, magnificence is the major argument. Once again, magnificence is put forward to argue that Amsterdam together with her rulers needed this splendid construction to perpetuate her leading and virtuous position in the world. An urgent question that needed to be answered in the mid-seventeenth century was why Amsterdam had for so long been able to forego a grand, expensive Town Hall. After all, the merchants of Amsterdam, with the burgomasters at the summit of the social hierarchy, were perfectly able to excel at international trade, even while conducting business in the old, decayed Gothic Town Hall.

22 Rixtel Pieter, "Op het Stadthuys van Amsterdam, Geschildert door den vermaerden Schilder Gerrit Berckheyden van Haerlem", in Rixtel Pieter, *Mengel-rymen* (Haarlem: 1669; reprint, Amsterdam: H. v.d. Gaete, 1717) 36–40, available from https://books.google.com/books?id=rxJeAAAAcAAJ (accessed: 14.10.2019). See Suchtelen A. van – Wheelock A.K. Jr. (eds.), *Hollandse stadsgezichten uit de Gouden Eeuw*, exh. cat., Mauritshuis (Den Haag: 2008) cat. nr. 9 for the debate regarding the question if the Antwerp painting is really the one that Rixtel praises.

As a straightforward answer was found hard to give, Rixtel deals with the question in quite a complex way. First, the poet discusses the complete destruction of the old Town Hall by fire. That destruction happened in 1652, so, four years after the start of the construction of the new Town Hall. However, Rixtel totally neglects this fact and emphasises the destruction as clear evidence of divine providence. According to the poet, God let the old Town Hall burn down to the ground to express his love for the people of Amsterdam. He gave them the chance to build the new Town Hall in all its splendour. Thus, divine intervention enabled the people of Amsterdam to confer magnificence to their city and government.

Rixtel elaborates on the relation between the old and the new Town Hall by discussing another painting, a 'portrait' Pieter Saenredam (1597–1665) painted of the old Town Hall, actually made years after it burned down.[23] The personification of the Town Hall of Amsterdam, as mentioned above, the central figure speaking in Rixtel's poem, clarifies that just like Berckheyde's painting, this painting by Saenredam is a portrait of her. So, it does not matter whether the old or the new Town Hall is depicted; both portray, in the sense of give form to, the abstract idea behind the two buildings. The Town Hall who is talking about her two 'portraits' in Rixtel's poem cannot be linked to one concrete building, but is the concretization of a concept, namely, the embodiment of civic rule as it was performed in the old as well as in the new Town Hall.

The abstract idea of civic rule is thus personified in Rixtel's poem. This personification discusses her two successive embodiments. First, civic rule was embodied in the Gothic Town Hall, now it is embodied in the new Town Hall. The first embodiment is still cherished by the burgomasters, as they have hung the 'portrait' by Saenredam in their own chamber in the new Town Hall. In the heart of the building, at the centre of the centre of power in Amsterdam, the old Town Hall is given a place of honour.

By emphasising this in his laudatory poem, Rixtel shows that the burgomasters relate themselves to two manifestations of magnificence. As discussed in the introduction to this edited volume, the Greco-Roman tradition identified magnificence with the performance of great deeds, such as the construction of grand buildings for the common good. In the Middle Ages, magnificence could also be expressed as a state of mind. Thus, magnificence enters into the seventeenth century as an expression of richness, as well as an expression of grandeur discernible even in simplicity. Rixtel emphasises that in constructing

23 Only in the context of Saenredam, some attention is paid to the Rixtel's poem. Schwartz G. – Bok M.J., *Pieter Saenredam: The Painter and His Time* (London: 1990) 242.

the new Town Hall, the burgomasters rely on the ancient concept of *magnum facere*. However, because they cherish the memory of the old Gothic Town Hall, they also demonstrate that they have not forgotten how civic rule can be expressed performatively in and through an aggrandized simplicity.

5 Conclusion

The exceptional number of laudatory poems and images dealing with the largest building of the Dutch Golden Age, the Town Hall of Amsterdam, exemplifies how seventeenth-century burgers were embarrassed to show their riches as such. The need was urgently felt to legitimise the huge costs of construction, with the help of tens of paintings and drawings, a hundred poems and countless prints. These representations do not downplay the grandness of the building in order to answer the question of the embarrassment of riches; by contrast, they (over-)emphasise the grandeur of the building. This reaction seems strange at first sight, but if we take stock of the logic of magnificence, an explanation can be given. The burgomasters's spending of exceptionally large sums of money for their building actually serves the common good because it enforces the position of Amsterdam and even the Republic. The Town Hall was presented as a most necessary means to confirm prosperity. Moreover, as Rixtel points out, the spending of large sums as a very extrovert expression of magnificence does not exclude far more introvert expressions of magnificence. The burgomasters may have been big spenders, but they expended resources only after careful and due consideration; they were presented as rulers who in all humility epitomized the benefits of benevolent, merciful, protective, thoughtful and wise rule – above all through the building of the new Town Hall.

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CHAPTER 9

Maiestate Tantum: Spiritual Magnificence at the Cappella dei Principi

Lindsay Alberts

In his 1542 treatise *De la istituzione di tutta la vita de l'uomo nato nobile* [*On the Establishment of the Life of the Nobleman*], Alessandro Piccolomini (1508–1579) conveys the model of the truly unique commission as an instruction to the Renaissance ruler seeking to demonstrate the princely virtue of *magnificenza*.[1] He instructs that 'the magnificent should make every effort so that his works cannot be easily imitated, and should always seek to outdo what has already been done by others on similar occasions'.[2] Piccolomini's advice demonstrates that the ability to out-do other patrons from replicating one's degree of magnificence was a key goal of elite early modern patrons, and, as the sixteenth century became the seventeenth, rulers across Europe sought new ways to demonstrate their authority through unique commissions imbued with value as a special sort of signal, one indicating more than simply sheer financial power.[3] As the essays of this volume amply demonstrate, by the seventeenth century the concept of *magnificenza* had been whole-heartedly adopted by sovereigns and even by lesser nobles in the whole of Europe. For true monarchs, then, a need was slowly emerging to distinguish their magnificence as a performance of authority that only they could enact.

Ruling as Grand Duke over the territory of Florence and Tuscany, Ferdinando I de' Medici (r. 1587–1609) seized a uniquely personal opportunity to create his own distinctive brand of authority by focusing the ostentation of magnificence on the devotional. Aligning the flamboyant ambition of displays of wealth traditionally associated with Renaissance magnificence with aesthetics referencing the spiritual purity of early Christian history, Ferdinando commissioned one of the most extensively decorated dynastic chapels in Italy. While royal chapels have always been important locations for magnificent displays, as sites

1 Hollingsworth M., *Patronage in 16th Century Italy* (London: 1996) 273. My thanks to Dr. Naomi Slipp for her generous time and advice in the drafting stage of this essay.

2 Nelson J. – Zeckhauser R., *The Patron's Payoff: Conspicuous Commissions in Italian Renaissance Art* (Princeton, NJ: 2008) 3–4.

3 Nelson – Zeckhauser, *The Patron's Payoff* 8.

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FIGURE 9.1 Giovanni de' Medici, Bernardo Buontalenti, and Matteo Nigetti, *Cappella dei Principi* (1604–1654). Pietre dure. Florence, Basilica of San Lorenzo. Image by concession of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Museo Nazionale del Bargello and cannot be reproduced or duplicated

where politics and religion meet, Ferdinando's commission, the Cappella dei Principi at San Lorenzo in Florence [Fig. 9.1], aligns dynastic politics with ambitious spiritual display, reflecting the unique ability of this patron, a temporal ruler who had once been a prince of the church, to blend the sacred and the temporal in the seventeenth-century articulation of *magnificenza.*

1 The Cardinal-Prince

Ferdinando I was a ruler uniquely positioned to combine the political and spiritual meaning of magnificence. His political rule brought a new sacrality to Medici displays of authority, not least because of the unusual circumstances under which he assumed the role of Grand Duke of Tuscany. Born in 1549, Ferdinando was the eighth child of Cosimo I de' Medici, founder of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. In 1563, at the age of 14, Ferdinando was made a cardinal by Pope Pius V; specifically, Ferdinando inherited the title and benefices of his older brother Giovanni, who had died of malaria the previous year, along with his brother Garzia and mother Eleonora di Toledo. Ferdinando would spend

the next 25 years in the Curia, although he remained a cardinal deacon, never taking his priestly vows. Suzanne Butters speculates that this technicality, which ultimately allowed Ferdinando to renounce his *biretta* in 1587, before ascending the granducal throne after his brother and successor Francesco's death, may have been stipulated by Cosimo's anticipation of such a need.[4] Legend has it that at Ferdinando's birth, his astrological chart declared that he would rule Florence, although it is more likely that the grim fact of child mortality rates in sixteenth-century Italy motivated Cosimo's prescient decision. Whether or not Cosimo believed this astrological prophecy, Ferdinando certainly did – he even moved his official birthday by a week to more completely align with the prediction.

Ferdinando's quarter-century of experience in ecclesiastical politics prepared him well to rule a secular state; his humour, affability, and piety have been noted by historians both modern and contemporary,[5] with one Venetian ambassador calling him 'one of the most felicitous princes ruling Italy today'.[6] Ferdinando ruled as cardinal-prince, even though now officially a layman. Ferdinando and his wife, Cristina di Lorena, whom he married in 1589, projected a public image of sacrality that brought a new spiritual significance to Medici rule. The very fact that the Grand Duke had been a cardinal was in itself significant; in the papers drawn up to mark his removal from office, clerics could find only a single precedent for a cardinal renouncing his *biretta*, that of the infamous Cesare Borgia.[7] Ferdinando's unusual status as a former cardinal immediately lent his rule an air of piety, which he fostered throughout his reign. For example, he linked his military policy to Christian goals, encouraging writers who called for a new Crusade and directing his naval fleet to attack Ottoman positions in the Mediterranean.[8] Ferdinando's military policy was part of a larger program of anti-Muslim action tied to his support of the Order of Santo Stefano, the chivalric order created by his father Cosimo I. During Ferdinando's reign, he consistently promoted the Order of Santo Stefano through active military campaigns and, perhaps most permanently, by completing the church of Santo Stefano and the order's headquarters, both on the Piazza dei Cavalieri, in Tuscany's port city of Pisa. That the city square continues to bear this name reflects the close association between the knightly order and the city, even in

4 Butters S., "Contrasting Priorities: Ferdinando I de' Medici, Cardinal and Grand Duke", in Hollingsworth M. – Richardson C. (eds.), *The Possessions of a Cardinal: Politics, Piety, and Art 1450–1700* (University Park, Pennsylvania: 2009) 185–225, esp. 185.

5 Cesati F., *The Medici: Story of a European Dynasty* (Florence: 1999) 101.

6 Butters, "Contrasting Priorities" 185.

7 Ibidem, 186.

8 Ibidem.

modern times. In Florence itself, both Ferdinando and his wife worshipped conspicuously, and publicly supported the Servite order based at Santissima Annunziata; in fact, Ferdinando's first public appearance in granducal regalia was a visit to this church.[9] Their very public piety likely contributed to the generally positive reviews that Ferdinando's rule received. Bringing Tuscany international prestige and economic prosperity through land reforms and increased trade through the port of Livorno,[10] coupled with his generally jovial and devout personality, Ferdinando's rule as grand duke stood in contrast to that of his predecessor Francesco, whose introverted nature and detrimentally conservative fiscal policies offered little for his people or historians to praise. Ferdinando's contemporary popularity may well have also been boosted by the fact that he embraced spectacle more than did any previous Florentine ruler.[11] Certainly, the fact that Ferdinando adopted a far more public-facing approach to asserting political authority through display than did his predecessor, Francesco, who created a private *studiolo* and ultimately established the Galleria degli Uffizi as a marker of political authority that only the most elite could view, enhanced his rhetorical and perhaps genuine reputation among early modern commentators. Ferdinando's motto, *maiestate tantum* ('only glory'), reflects this direct embrace of magnificence. Splendour was not only the foundation of Ferdinando's personal motto, but a key strategy of his campaign to reinforce Tuscan influence, which had begun to wane as Florence's military power diminished, with its last significant martial intervention occurring in 1571 at the Battle of Lepanto.

Nowhere was Ferdinando's hybrid use of the spectacular and the spiritual to generate prestige for Florence more apparent than in his largest commission, the Cappella dei Principi, which served as the granducal funerary chapel, in which the opulence of floor-to-ceiling hardstone decoration sought to evoke Heavenly Jerusalem on earth. Putting his glory-focused motto into practice, Ferdinando commissioned a sumptuous funerary chapel to simultaneously celebrate the Medici dynasty and to re-orient the landscape of Christian pilgrimage towards Florence, an ultimately unsuccessful element of the Cappella

9 Butters, "Contrasting Priorities" 201.

10 Cesati, *The Medici* 104.

11 Holderbaum J., *The Sculptor Giovanni Bologna* (New York: 1983) 152, Cipolla C., *Money in Sixteenth-Century Florence* (Berkeley: 1989) 54, Berti L., *Il Principe dello studiolo* (Firenze: 1967) 9–10, 12, Darr A., "The Medici and the Legacy of Michelangelo in Late Renaissance Florence: An Introduction," in Acidini Luchinat C., *The Medici, Michelangelo, and the Art of Late Renaissance Florence* (New Haven: 2002) 5, Hollingsworth M., *The Family Medici: The Hidden History of the Medici Dynasty* (New York: 2018) Ch. 17.

dei Principi project that, had it succeeded, would have seen Florence challenge even Rome as the most significant pilgrimage destination in Italy.

2 Medici Might in Hardstones

The Cappella dei Principi was constructed following the designs of three successive architects: Don Giovanni de' Medici, natural son of Cosimo I, then Bernardo Buontalenti, replaced upon his death in 1608 by Matteo Nigetti. The chapel was built between 1604 and 1654 to house the bodies of the Medici grand dukes.[12] Covered floor to ceiling in rare and expensive hardstone mosaics, known as *commesso* or Florentine mosaic, the chapel asserts the political, financial, and spiritual authority of the Medici through the visual impact of *magnificenza* by displaying an impressive collection of natural specimens, demonstrating not only the wealth and access of the dynasty but the specifically spiritual blessing associated with this concept. Visiting Florence during his Italian travels of 1644, the English diarist John Evelyn described the chapel as 'Heaven if any be on earth'.[13] This lofty praise is easy to understand: with its use of *commesso* decoration on an unprecedented scale, its hardstone veneers covering floor to ceiling with variegated marbles, jaspers, and other rare stones in a variety of colours, the chapel presents visitors with a dazzling visual spectacle of pattern and colour.[14]

While the extent of the technically difficult and expensive inlaid hardstones marks the chapel as visually distinct, the space is also physically impressive due to its sheer scale. Perhaps intentionally, its terracotta-encrusted dome is the second-largest in Florence's skyline and visually mimics Filippo Brunelleschi's iconic cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore [Fig. 9.2]. Six massive granite and porphyry sarcophagi line the walls of the large octagonal chapel, each decorated with inscriptions and the crest of the Medici family [Fig. 9.3]. The tombs are dedicated to the six grand dukes of Tuscany; Ferdinando's commission created a resting place for the entire dynasty, similar to the Habsburg Pantheon of the Kings at El Escorial, which may have been directly inspired by the Cappella

12 Morrogh A., "The Cappella dei Principi under Ferdinando I de' Medici", in Gaston R. – Waldman L. (eds.), *San Lorenzo: A Florentine Church* (Villa i Tatti – Cambridge, MA: 2017) 567–610, esp. 567.

13 Chappell M., "Some Works by Cigoli for the Cappella de' Principi," *Burlington Magazine* 113, 823 [1971] 580–582, esp. 580.

14 The original plan for the decoration of the dome called for the entire expanse to be covered in lapis lazuli veneers.

dei Principi. Above each sarcophagus yawn massive niches, their dark empty spaces creating an unsettling void amidst the chapel's unceasing decoration. Originally designed to hold over-life-size bronze statues of each tomb's occupant, only two of the niches were fully completed, those of Ferdinando himself [Fig. 9.4] and his son and successor Cosimo II.

The space's visuals are dominated by a vast array of hardstone panels, featuring intricately veined and unusually coloured marbles, especially jaspers. Delicate panels in *commesso* along the base of the walls alternate between decorative vases and tombs that replicate the granducal sarcophagi in miniature. *Commesso* coats of arms representing sixteen Tuscan cities under Florentine control decorate the dado [Fig. 9.5], reminding viewers of the expanse of the Florentine state headed by the grand duke. The inlaid floor, itself a *commesso* masterpiece, prominently displays the Medici *palle* [Fig. 9.6]. The six large sarcophagi were made of porphyry and grey granite, stones known for their hardness and difficulty to work, and were decorated with inlaid stone panelling; on top of each, a granducal crown rests on a painted cushion. The sarcophagi remain empty; the granducal bodies themselves are buried, along with those of their wives and children, below in the crypt, designed by Buontalenti. Renzo Chiarelli, former curator of the Medici chapels, notes that the low-slung arches



FIGURE 9.2 Giovanni de' Medici, Bernardo Buontalenti, Matteo Nigetti, Michelangelo, Filippo Brunelleschi, and others, *Basilica of San Lorenzo* (ca. 1470–1654). Florence. Photograph by author



FIGURE 9.3 Giovanni de' Medici, Bernardo Buontalenti, and Matteo Nigetti, *Cappella dei Principi* (1604–1654). Jasper, porphyry, granite, and other hardstones. View of tomb of Francesco de' Medici. Florence, San Lorenzo. Image by concession of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Museo Nazionale del Bargello and cannot be reproduced or duplicated



FIGURE 9.4
Pietro Tacca, *Portrait of Ferdinando I*, 1604–1654. Bronze. Florence, Basilica of San Lorenzo. Image by concession of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Museo Nazionale del Bargello and cannot be reproduced or duplicated



FIGURE 9.5
Opificio delle Pietre Dure, *Crest of Pistoia* (1604–1654). Jasper, marbles, alabaster, and other hardstones. Florence, Cappella dei Principi. Image by concession of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Museo Nazionale del Bargello and cannot be reproduced or duplicated



FIGURE 9.6
Opificio delle Pietre Dure, *Floor of Cappella dei Principi* (1604–1654). Jasper, porphyry, granite, and other hardstones, detail of Medici crest. Florence, Basilica of San Lorenzo. Image by concession of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Museo Nazionale del Bargello and cannot be reproduced or duplicated

of the crypt, which are supported by powerful, squat pilasters, appear almost as if crushed by the enormous weight of the encrusted chapel above.[15]

In many ways, the Cappella dei Principi was both the last ambitious Medici building, as Andrew Morrogh characterizes it,[16] and the most ambitious Medici building. Its construction history spanning not just the reigns of multiple grand dukes but in fact centuries, the project outlived even the Medici grand duchy

15 Chiarelli R., *San Lorenzo and the Medici Chapels* (Florence: 1971) 27.
16 Morrogh, "The Cappella dei Principi" 567.

itself, as the pavement was not finished until 1961.[17] While the basic structure of the chapel was completed around 1654,[18] the installation of the decoration spanned the centuries on account of its extraordinary cost. By Ferdinando's death in 1609, the estimated cost of the chapel was more than half a million *scudi*, and the total cost of the project has been estimated at 3.7 million *scudi*.[19]

The decorative technique of *commesso*, which increasingly became associated with the city of Florence beginning in the late sixteenth century, in part due to the fame of the chapel, requires that artisans cut and piece together carefully selected hardstones like a mosaic. The medium takes its name from the painstaking process of matching together (*commettere*) stones of similar hues. Not only does this process require an advanced level of technical skill and an abundance of patience, but the materials themselves were expensive, rare, and replete with their own meanings. The Italian name for these stones, *pietre dure*, literally means hard stones, communicating the equivalent strength and permanence of the Medici family, which at this point had controlled Florentine politics for over two centuries. The most delicate *commesso* panels in the chapel, with the insignia of cities governed by the Tuscan state, include jasper, quartz, lapis lazuli, alabaster, coral, and mother of pearl, among many other stones [Fig. 9.7]. The very names of the stones reflect their often far-flung origins: *malachite di Siberia*, *lapislazzulo di Persia, agata orientale.* The rareness of these stones, which directly translates into cost, was multiplied by the difficulty and commensurate expense of their transport from these locales back to Florence. Granducal agents were particularly efficacious in acquiring highly-desired jaspers from Corsica, Bohemia, and Sicily, as well as agates from as far away as India; the jaspers of the Cappella dei Principi were especially praised. The diplomatic ties necessary to transport large amounts of these heavy and cumbersome stones from as far away as Siberia attest to Medici connections across the known world. Other stones reflect origins closer to home, such as *agata di Siena* and *diaspro di Volterra*. Like the coats of arms decorating the chapel, themselves made of the same stones, the names and provenance of these materials restate the scope of the Tuscan state, which controlled both of the above-mentioned towns as well as others which produced decorative stones used in the chapel. Likewise, the use of stones quarried in and even

17 Ibidem. Bringing the project full circle, the installation was done by the Opificio delle Pietre Dure, the very institution created under Ferdinando I to oversee the acquisition and creation of the hardstones for the Cappella dei Principi project. The OPD, as it is known by its acronym, remains in existence to this day as a respected conservation workshop.

18 Ibidem.

19 Ibidem.

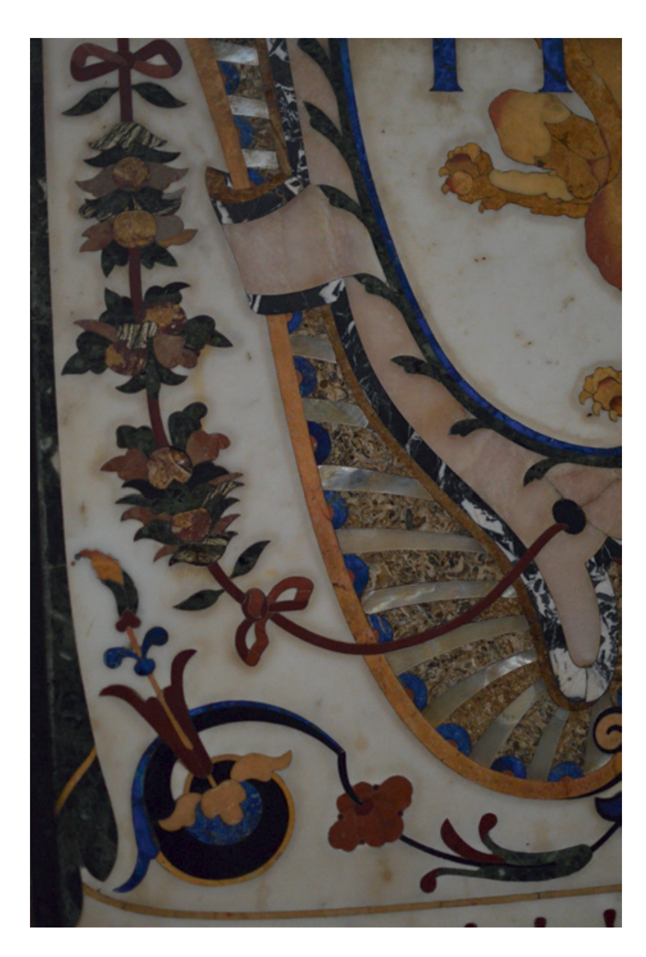


FIGURE 9.7
Detail of Fig. 9.5: Opificio delle Pietre Dure, *Crest of Pistoia* (1604–1654). Jasper, marbles, alabaster, and other hardstones. Florence, Cappella dei Principi. Image by concession of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Museo Nazionale del Bargello and cannot be reproduced or duplicated

named after Tuscan locales celebrated the material fecundity of Tuscany's very land. The acquisition of these stones could at times require the connections, money, and bravura that the chapel celebrates as intrinsic to the Medici dynasty. For example, in 1597, Ferdinando received a huge shipment of over 350 stones from Rome, including porphyry, ancient fragments, and worked marbles, 5 cases of which were specifically designated as '*per servizio della cappella di San Lorenzo*', for the future chapel at San Lorenzo.[20] Ferdinando received this cache in spite of a direct prohibition made by Pope Julius III (1487–1555) banning the exportation of stones out of Rome. Ferdinando's ability to flout this ban speaks to Medici connections and confidence among even its most

20 del Riccio A., *Istorie delle pietre*, trans. R. Gnoli (Turin: 1996) 39.

powerful Italian neighbours; in fact, the majority of stones leaving Rome illegally during this period made their way to Florence.

While the individual marbles, jaspers, agates, and breccias comprised by the hardstone panels in the Cappella dei Principi each had individual associations and, when taken together, formed a princely collection of natural specimens, the message that lay at the heart of the display of such a collection remained the communication of authority through *magnificenza*. The *commesso* panels of the chapel serve as physical embodiments of the Medici family's access and wealth, underscoring their right to rule. The extraordinary financial cost of the project, as already mentioned close to 4 million *scudi*, was no doubt the most overt assertion of dynastic power, reflecting the extraordinary wealth of the Medici. In 1595, the English traveller Robert Dallington described Ferdinando as the richest prince in Europe; nine years later, an anonymous source listed his annual income at 1.5 million *scudi*.[21] His annual income was even reported to be greater than that of all of France.[22] The physical characteristics of the medium, quite literally hard stones, likewise speak to political strength; at their most basic symbolic level, the hardstones decorating the chapel are themselves physically ponderous materials, heavy and impervious to damage, symbolically conveying the stability of the dynasty.

3 Spiritual Magnificence at the Cappella dei Principi

While undeniably impressive in financial and visual terms, the material and stylistic choices made at the Cappella dei Principi do more than simply proclaim the political authority of the Medici Grand Dukes. Reflecting Ferdinando's introduction of the spiritual into Florentine demonstrations of *magnificenza*, the decorations of the chapel reference specific spiritual moments in Christianity, simultaneously referring back to early Christian history and suggesting the splendour of the Kingdom of Heaven yet to come. In doing so, the Cappella dei Principi blends the traditional communication of temporal power through wealth that is magnificence with the sacral emphasis placed on that magnificence by Ferdinando. With the chapel's signature hardstone panelling participating in a contemporary revival in polychrome marble decorations meant to evoke both early Christian decorative schemes and the richness of Heavenly Jerusalem as described in Revelation, the Cappella dei

21 Morrogh, "The Cappella dei Principi" 571.

22 Cesati, *The Medici* 106.

Principi reflects the distinctly spiritual meaning of magnificence employed by Florence's cardinal-prince.

In using polychromed marble veneers to evoke two specific spiritual associations, the Cappella dei Principi participated in a revival of hardstone panelling which began in the sixteenth century, referencing late antique and early medieval Christian spaces. According to Stephen Ostrow, chapels decorated with extensive polychrome marble veneers utilized materials to express a dual spiritual meaning, 'meant to be read on two levels: as an evocation of early Christian architecture and as an image of the celestial paradise'.[23] Late Cinquecento spaces such as the Sistine Chapel at Santa Maria Maggiore, designed by Domenico Fontana (1585–1590), the Caetani Chapel in Santa Pudenziana, designed by Francesco da Volterra (1590–1603), and the Cappella Gregoriana in St. Peter's, designed by Giacomo della Porta (begun 1573), and early Seicento examples including the Aldobrandini Chapel at Santa Maria sopra Minerva, designed by Giacomo della Porta and completed by Carlo Maderno (constructed 1602–1611), and Gianlorenzo Bernini's apse at Santa Maria in Via Lata (1636–1643) and his magnificent hardstone veneers in the famous Cornaro Chapel of Santa Maria della Vittoria (1647–1652) are prime examples of the early modern re-emergence of polychromed marble veneers as expressions of spiritual splendour. These Roman chapels differ significantly only in the design of the *commesso* panels, which lack the figurative approach introduced to the *pietre dure* tradition in the late Cinquencento by Florentine manufactories, specifically through the designs of Jacopo Ligozzi.

These spaces, along with the Cappella dei Principi, communicate devotion and spiritual blessing by reviving a decorative technique featured in many early Christian buildings, building off the Greek and Roman preference for interiors decorated with marble veneers,[24] visible today in the Pantheon's inlaid interior and in examples of Roman First Style wall painting preserved by the Vesuvian eruption. As ancient buildings such as the Lateran Palace, which featured marble veneers, were converted to ecclesiastical use, this sumptuous decorative approach became associated with the early Church.[25] Early modern chapels decorated with similar revetment therefore communicated both piety and spiritual renewal, visually linking their patrons and dedicatees to the earliest days of the Christian faith. Of course, that these decorative choices

23 Ostrow S., "Marble Revetment in Late 16th-Century Roman Chapels", in Clarke J. – Lavin M. (eds.), *IL60: Essays Honoring Irving Lavin on his 60th Birthday* (New York: 1990) 253–266, esp. 254.

24 Giusti A., *Pietre Dure: The Art of Semiprecious Stonework*, trans. F. Berry (Los Angeles: 2006) 10.

25 Ibidem.

also engaged with the visuals of ancient Rome no doubt appealed to the late Renaissance and early Baroque antiquarian mode. That it was Constantine, the first Christian Roman emperor, who was responsible for spreading the use of coloured marbles beyond Europe and into the Holy Land and Constantinople,[26] reflects the combination of spiritual devotion and antique authority evoked by the early modern revival of this decorative technique. Likewise, Roman *opus sectile*, the ancient forerunner to *commesso*, was most popular from the reign of Augustus into the fifth century,[27] four centuries that are, of course, also the earliest of the Christian faith. In reviving the tradition of hardstone panels in the religious context, early modern architects evoke the authority and spiritual purity of the original Church, suggesting a direct connection to Christianity's birth.

In addition to referencing early Christian decorative approaches, chapels decorated with polychrome marble sought to evoke the splendour and even specific materials of the celestial vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem, a topos still widely applied in the early modern period. Alberto Pio da Carpi's 1531 treatise *XXIII Libri* states that chapels should imitate the splendour of the Heavenly Jerusalem as described in *Revelation*, thus becoming, in Ostrow's words, the 'visual embodiment of heaven on earth'.[28] Seicento travelers praised sumptuously-marbled chapels with language referencing heaven; in 1644, John Evelyn described the Cappella dei Principi as 'heaven on earth',[29] and two years later, his countryman John Raymond praised the chapel as 'so glorious that whosoever enters will even imagine himselfe in some place above terrestriall'.[30] These contemporary accounts draw a direct line between the Cappella dei Principi and the celestial city of the end of days.

Described by one biblical scholar as an 'inspired picture-book',[31] images and exact material description feature centrally in the *Book of Revelation*, the apocalyptic conclusion to the New Testament. More infamously known for its frightening imagery of destruction, *Revelation* also describes what will emerge after the terror of the Apocalypse draws to a close: the magnificent Heavenly Jerusalem (sometimes referred to as Zion), a paradise location where true believers will spend eternity in God's presence. The author of the

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26 Ostrow, "Marble Revetment" 257.

27 Giusti, *Pietre Dure* 21.

28 Ostrow, "Marble Revetment" 266.

29 Chappell, "Works by Cigoli" 580.

30 Raymond J., *Il Mercurio Italico, communicating a voyage made through Italy in the yeares 1646 and 1647* (London, Humphrey Mosely: 1648) 41.

31 Metzger B., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, ed. by B. Metzger – R. Murphy (Oxford: 1994) 364.

book, traditionally identified as the Evangelist John, makes repeated reference to specific materials in his description of the built environment of the new Jerusalem. For example, John describes the city as having 'a radiance like a very rare jewel, like jasper, clear as crystal'.[32] Precious and semi-precious stones, especially crystal and jasper, appear in the description of the city's structure, which John describes as literally built upon gems:

> The foundations of the wall of the city are adorned with every jewel; the first was jasper, the second sapphire, the third agate, the fourth emerald, the fifth onyx, the sixth carnelian, the seventh chrysolite, the eighth beryl, the ninth topaz, the tenth chrysophrase, the eleventh jacinth, the twelfth amethyst. And the twelve gates are twelve pearls, each of the gates is a single pearl, and the street of the city is pure gold, transparent as glass.[33]

In his analysis of this passage, Bruce Metzger notes that the city of the Heavenly Jerusalem is presented as a symbol of perfection through its magnificence, indicated by the presence of such precious materials.[34]

While the overall material splendour of the Cappella dei Principi echoes the magnificence of Heavenly Jerusalem as described in *Revelation*, there are precise correspondences between John's vision of Zion and the chapel. Most notably, the chapel's *pietre dure* decorations heavily feature jasper, a material mentioned multiple times in the biblical description. Red jasper appears most prominently in the chapel in the large pilasters crowned with Corinthian capitals that flank each of the granducal tombs. The baseboards encircling the perimeter of the chapel are of this same red jasper veined with white, as are large *commesso* panels in the walls. Along the dado these panels feature red jasper carved in the shape of large urns with intricate lids and handles made of expensive lapis lazuli. Jaspers in other colours such as green are used in the wall panels as well, making jasper the dominant stone in the Cappella dei Principi, and in fact the chapel was renowned for this stone above all.[35] The use of jasper in the chapel and its association with the hardstone transforms the space from merely a demonstration of wealth and access to the embodiment of Heavenly Jerusalem, which, according to the biblical narrative, likewise will feature jasper prominently.

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32 Ibidem, *Rev*. 21:10.
33 Ibidem.
34 Ibidem, 386.
35 Morrough, "The Cappella dei Principi" 569.

Not only does the *Book of Revelation* describe the city of Zion as literally built upon and of jasper, but the stone is also used as a metaphor for godly magnificence and beauty. The author begins his account of his vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem not with a description of the city, but of a person, identified as God the father.[36] He describes this experience: 'At once I was in the spirit, and there in heaven stood a throne, with one seated on the throne! And the one seated there looks like jasper and carnelian'.[37] The prominent description of jasper as both a physical building material for the Heavenly Jerusalem and as a descriptor of the sublime suggests that the author of the *Book of Revelation* could imagine no more magnificent a material than jasper, appropriate even as a metaphor for God himself. Its prominence in the Cappella dei Principi demonstrates the specifically spiritual employment of magnificence advocated by its patron Ferdinando. Prioritizing the display of jasper rather than, for example, gold or silver, equally precious materials yet lacking the specific biblical connection to Zion, is a prime example of the type of spiritual magnificence created under Ferdinando I at the chapel.

One final element of the Cappella dei Principi project – ultimately unrealized but on an unprecedented level of ambition – reflects the concept of spiritual magnificence inherent in the Cappella dei Principi commission. Although documentary evidence remains to be published, scholars agree that Ferdinando originally intended for the chapel to serve as not only the granducal funerary chapel but as an enormous reliquary to house one of Christendom's most sacred treasures – the Holy Sepulchre, the tomb into which Christ is believed to have been placed before his resurrection.[38] Ferdinando's bold plan to relocate the Holy Sepulchre from Jerusalem to the chapel, which was announced in August 1604 and went as far as a signed accord between Florence and the Ottomans then controlling Jerusalem,[39] demonstrates the close relationship between the spectacular and the sacred in Ferdinando's employment of *magnificenza.*

While clearly nothing came of this proposal – the Holy Sepulchre remains *in situ* in its subdivided church in Jerusalem [Fig. 9.8] – not only would this action have demonstrated the far-flung connections of the Medici, but it would also have endowed the granducal mausoleum with the holiest relic in western Europe, showering the dynasty with prestige and admiration and challenging Rome as the *de facto* pilgrimage destination in Italy, bringing religious tourism

36 Metzger, *New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 369.
37 Ibidem, *Rev*. 4:2.
38 Butters, "Contrasting Priorities" 207.
39 Chappell, "Works by Cigoli" 508.



FIGURE 9.8 Auguste Salzmann, *Apse, Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem* (1854). Salted paper print from paper negative, 23.5 × 31 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
IMAGE COURTESY OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART – IMAGES FOR SCHOLARLY PUBLISHING

and pilgrim money into Florence. In fact, Ferdinando had had his eyes on this particular prize even while still in his cardinal's robes.[40] In 1588, as one of his last actions as cardinal, Ferdinando commissioned a bronze decoration designed to enclose the Stone of Unction,[41] believed to be the location where Joseph of Arimathea prepared Christ's body for burial in the Sepulchre. Shortly after becoming Grand Duke, Ferdinando made a significant donation to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, including a hanging vestment or *paramento*

40 Ferdinando's plan was not the first to attempt to bring the spiritual blessing of the Holy Sepulchre to Florence. In the fifteenth century, the Rucellai family commission Leon Battista Alberti to design the family mausoleum in San Pancrazio as a copy of the Aedicule in local white marble and green serpentine from Prato.

41 Butters, "Contrasting Priorities" 188.

and generous alms, together valued at 4,000 *scudi*. Once the project to relocate the Holy Sepulchre was underway, Ferdinando commissioned the sculptor Giambologna to design reliefs to send to Jerusalem to decorate the Holy Sepulchre during its transport to Florence,[42] marking it as Medici property. This series of actions reflects the particularly spiritual flavour of Ferdinando's vision of Medici authority and *grandezza*, as he manoeuvred over multiple decades to enhance the visibility and economic power of Florence and her Medici rulers through religious prestige.

The scale of the Cappella dei Principi, its unrivalled expanse of *pietre dure*, and the oversized sarcophagi and statues intended to commemorate the grand dukes speak directly to Medici power through wealth and political authority, but are equally in line with contemporary thinking regarding the appropriateness of magnificence in a distinctly pious context. Post-Tridentine Catholic reformers continued to endorse the oxymoron of modest magnificence, in that the use of splendid precious materials was acceptable if it was handled in a restrained or dignified manner, appropriate to the specifics of the commission, site, and religious significance of the space. Carlo Borromeo, for example, advises in his 1577 recommendations on church fabrics, *Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae* [*Instructions on Church Buildings*], that churches should be constructed commensurate to the relics contained within, specifically authorizing the use of gold, silver, and, highly relevant to the Cappella dei Principi, valuable marbles.[43] This concept of 'appropriate dignity', as John Nicolas Napoli calls it,[44] changes our understanding of the Cappella dei Principi from an ostentatious display of dynastic wealth to a spiritually appropriate, even requisite magnificence for a shrine containing one of the holiest Christian relics.

Although the Holy Sepulchre project remained unrealized, the extraordinary scale of the plan, with significant economic, spiritual, and political implications for the Tuscan state had it been accomplished, reflects in miniature Ferdinando I's distinctive coupling of magnificence with the spiritual. Even without the holiest Christian relic placed at its centre, the Cappella dei Principi communicates an abundance of spiritual blessing for the Medici dynasty through its extensive hardstone decorations, which simultaneously

42 Holderbaum, *Giovanni Bologna* 176.

43 Napoli J.N., "From Social Virtue to Revetted Interior: Giovanni Antonio Dosio and Marble Inlay in Rome, Florence, and Naples", in Warr C. – Elliott J. (eds.), *Art and Architecture in Naples, 1266–1713: New Approaches* (Malden, MA: 2010) 101–124, esp. 113.

44 Ibidem.

hearken back to early Christian churches and reflect the coming majesty of the Heavenly Jerusalem. This ostentatious chapel demonstrates the unique character of Ferdinando I's *magnificenza*, which asserted temporal authority and wealth in equal measure with divine glory and devotional purity. As Seicento rulers sought to distinguish their expressions of *magnificenza*, Ferdinando seized upon his unique biography as a former cardinal, with the Cappella dei Principi the ultimate expression of his spiritual magnificence.

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CHAPTER 10

Magnificence Exemplified: the Restoration of the Old St. Paul's London

Anne-Françoise Morel

The restoration campaign of the Old St Paul's in London led by Inigo Jones (1573–1653) for (Arch-) bishop William Laud (1573–1645) and King Charles I (1600–1649), has been thoroughly studied according to the classical rules of decorum. Particular attention has been paid to Inigo Jones's use of the Corinthian order in the west portico as a symbol for the ecumenical and High Church ambitions of Laud and Charles (i.e., for Roman Catholic tolerance).[1] Other scholars dealing with the period of Personal Rule (1629–1640), when Charles ruled without recourse to Parliament, have taken a closer look at the financial aspects of the restoration of the metropolitan cathedral.[2] This is not surprising given the fact that both the architecture and the huge financial cost of this enterprise were already, at the time of construction, emblematic of Laudian Church policy and central to the fierce contemporaneous debates between defenders and detractors of the Carolinian Church.[3] Scholars, in discussing Charles I's continuous efforts to raise money for this major construction project designed to symbolize the supremacy of the national Church and the monarch's absolutist ambitions, have however paid scant attention to the propagandistic sermon *Magnificence Exemplified* preached by Gyles Fleming in 1634. In the scholarly literature, the importance attributed to the creation of the symbolism of power by Charles I in his artistic and architectural commissions celebrating the monarch's breadth and grandeur, and to Inigo Jones's understanding and use of architectural rules related to the ethics and decorum

1 Anderson C., *Inigo Jones and the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: 2007). Hart V. – Tucker R., "Ornament and the Work of Inigo Jones", *Architectural History* 32 (2002) 36–52. Hart V., *Inigo Jones the Architect of Kings* (New Haven and London: 2011) 212–225. Worsley G., *Inigo Jones and the European Classicist Tradition* (New Haven and London: 2007).

2 Sharpe K., *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven and London: 1992) 120–124, 322–328. Keene D. et al., *St Paul's, The Cathedral Church of London 604–2004* (New Haven and London: 2004) 45 and 51–58.

3 Fincham K. and Tyacke N., *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship. 1547–c.1700* (Oxford: 2007) 126–227. For contemporary accounts see a.o. John Bastwick's denunciation of the re-edification of St Paul's as 'making a seat for a priest's arse' quoted in Sharpe, *The Personal Rule* 324.

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of display, provide a context for assessing the importance of Fleming's sermon. Jones's use of classical architecture – above all, the orders – helped legitimise the Stuart monarchy and the reign of Charles I, which was seen as 'Britannia Triumphans', the embodied idea of a peaceful, wealthy and heroic nation rising once again from its antique roots.[4]

As extensively argued in other publications, sermons are a largely untapped source for studying the form, function and meaning of English churches. A discourse analysis of sermons can help to unveil the often implicit debates on church architecture within the religious and political fabric of the Stuart age.[5] In this contribution I will show how Fleming consciously used the Aristotelian notion of magnificence as a propagandistic tool in support of the royal fundraising Commission, the organisation charged with covering the monarchy's financial deficit and with maintaining royal control over the architectural program. Exploring the classical theory of magnificence, central to the rules of architectural decorum since Vitruvius, this contribution also aims to re-establish the connection between the west portico, which has often been studied as an object on its own, and the overall restoration project of the whole building.[6] Particular attention is paid to the interior refurbishment of the choir patronized by Sir Paul Pindar and described in R.T.'s *De Templis* (1638), one of the earliest (though relatively undocumented) treatises on church architecture published after the creation of the Church England. In so doing, this contribution lays

4 *Charles I King and Collector, Exhibition Catalogue Royal Academy of Arts*, London 27 January–15 April 2018 (London: 2018). Sharpe K., *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England* (New Haven: 2010). Hart V., *Inigo Jones the Architect of Kings* (New Haven and London: 2011) 5, 31, 36, 43. The newly refaced St Paul's Cathedral was part of Jones's stage design for the masque *Brittania Triumphans* (1638) which showed the revival of a heroic national antiquity under Stuart monarchy. See Fig. 10.3.

Malcolm Smuts, although not focussing on architecture as such, emphasises that the royal buildings by Inigo Jones not only suggest a reordering of artistic fashions, but of a whole visual language of power and authority contributing to the creation of visible magnificence of Stuart kingship. See a.o. Smuts M.R., "Art and Material Culture of Majesty in Early Stuart England" in Smuts R.M. (ed.), *The Stuart Court and Europe, Essays in Politics and Political Culture* (Cambridge: 1996) 86–112.

5 Morel A.F., *Glorious Temples or Babylonic Whores: The Culture of Church Building in Stuart England through the Lens of Consecration Sermons* (Leiden: 2019) 4.

6 As will become clear throughout this contribution, Fleming strictly adheres to the Aristotelian notion of magnificence and liberality. However, between 1606 and 1635 Robert Peterson and Sir Thomas Hawkins published the English translation of Botero's *On the Causes of Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*. In this text Botero studies how great cities work and identifies factors that contribute to that greatness from a colonial point of view. Sir Walter Raleigh (1554–1618) wrote his *Observations Concerning the Causes of Magnificence and Opulence of Cities* as a kind of précis of Botero's text. In these observations he stresses the importance of religion in the creation of a wealthy, peaceful and strong city or nation.

bare the rhetorical and symbolic strategy – not limited to the Laudian church policy – which underpinned both the financial structure and the architectural program of the royal efforts to restore Old St Paul's.

1 'His Maiesties Commission Giving Power to Enquire of the Decayes of the Cathedral Church'

From the onset of the seventeenth century onwards, St Paul's was nearly in ruins. The Gothic spire was destroyed by lightning in 1561 and not rebuilt. Although there had been an attempt to repair the damage caused in 1560s–1580s, the church seems to have been comprehensively neglected in Elizabeth's reign. As early as 1608, James I (1566–1625) made a half-hearted appeal for repairs. The estimated sum required for the restoration of the cathedral was £22,500. A national fundraising campaign backed by government was necessary to gather this huge sum. In 1620 – after hearing a sermon preached by Bishop John King on the urgency of the cathedral's repair – James I finally launched the fundraising campaign in support of the marriage negotiations between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta Maria Anna. However, the growing military involvement of England in the Thirty Years War and the death of James in 1625 put the project on a halt.[7] The actual restoration campaign only started under the patronage of his successor Charles I and became one of the beacons of the Laudian 'beauty of holiness'. This sacramental and ceremonial orientation of the Church of England placed a special emphasis on the separateness of the church as a holy object, consecrated by God's divine special presence, which was reflected in magnificent and sometimes pompous architecture.

Derek Keene has demonstrated that it was within the context of the Personal Rule and the orbit of Charles's Privy Council that the restoration of St Paul's Cathedral was planned and carried out from 1631 onwards.[8] For the next eleven years the fabric of the cathedral was effectively in hands of the king,

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7 Fincham – Tyacke, *Altars Restored* 110. Keene et al., *The Cathedral Church of London* 45 and 51: 'There was much reluctance to contribute funds, especially among the clergy "Dyversyties of opinions whether Paul's ought to be reedyfied considering howe yt was dystroyed by the finger of god because yt was abused, and many thought yt was pietas in deum pietas in patriam to have buylded againe and the steeple to be higher then ever yt was [...]"'.

8 On 10 March 1629 Charles I dissolved the parliament and he was not to call another until April 1640. During these 11 years his policies and methods of government demonstrated his preference for rule by prerogative and his aspirations towards absolutism then developing in France. See Sharpe, *The Personal Rule*.

his councillors and his officers, rather than the responsibility of the dean and the chapter.

10 April 1631 Charles I issued a royal commissioner dedicated to the restoration of the church. The Commission was in charge of both the architectural and the financial aspect of the restoration and received 'full Power and Authoritie'.[9] In practice this meant that William Laud, who had been appointed bishop of London in 1628, got the authority to set up a register of subscriptions and issue a letters patent for receiving public contributions. The City of London was to manage the money and in May 1631 an account was opened in the Chamber of London.[10] The most prominent church in the City of London, the renovation of St Paul's became emblematic for the Carolinian Church and for the difficult relationship between the City and Westminster.[11] (Arch-) bishop Laud himself spent over £1,200 on it. In 1633, Charles wrote to Laud promising to pay for the entire west front himself, over and above his existing gifts of £500 for ten years.[12] The king had been slow to contribute to the repair fund himself, but with the patronage of the west portico he wished to dispose of all 'false and scandalous rumours' that 'the work were but pretended by us to get some great sum of money together and then turn it to other uses'.[13] It is within the context of the royal donation that Fleming's sermon *Magnificence Exemplified* is analysed.

9 King Charles I, *His Maiesties Commission Giving Power to Enquire of the Decayes of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul in London, and the Repairing the same* (London: Robert Barker, 1631) 35, 37, 39. The Commissioners included amongst others the Lord Mayor and aldermen of the City of London, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Bishop of London and three members of the Privy Council. The document specifies that the collects should be kept at the Chamber of the City of London, see pp. 22, 23: […] giving full Power and Authoritie to you […] from time to time either by your owne view and Survey, or by the aide and assistance of such skillfull workemen or other persons […] To search, discover, try and finde the true state of the said Church […] And further Wee doe give unto you, […] Full Power and Authoritie, […] To enquire, examine, discover and finde out, what Legacies, Gifts, Bequests or summes of money have beene heretofore given […] And Wee doe also hereby give unto you […] full Power […] to consult, advise and agree of such forme and forms of Letters Patents to bee granted […] for publique Collections to be made […] Of the charities of Our loving and well-disposed Subiects.

10 For an overview of fundraising see Keene et al., *The Cathedral Church of London* 57.

11 Sharpe, *The Personal Rule* 124.

12 Morse M.E., *The Politics of Art and Religion: Absolutism and Catholic Iconography in Early Stuart England* (University of Florida: PhD. Diss., 2009) 406.

13 Ellis H. – Dugdale W., *The History of St Paul's Cathedral In London from its foundation.… with a continuation and additions* (London: 1818) 106.

2 Royal Magnificence, Liberal Charity

31 August 1634 the moderate Laudian preacher Gyles Fleming (d. 1664 or 1665) pronounced a sermon entitled *Magnificence Exemplified and the Repaire of Saint Paul's* in St Paul's Cathedral.[14] While the printed text is dedicated to John and Thomas Coventry, Baron of Alesbury and defenders of the monarchy; the audience to whom the sermon is addressed are the wealthy traders and merchants of the City of London.

Drawing upon the virtues of liberality and magnificence and condemning the vices of vanity and prodigality, the whole structure and content of the sermon are based upon the *Nicomachean Ethics* on wealth. In Fleming's sermon the repair of St Paul's, 'mother of all cathedral churches', is presented as a magnificent deed by Charles to which the merchants will contribute on the basis of liberality. The aim of Fleming is to urge the City's merchants to pay for the overall restoration of the church based upon the premise that the building, repairing and adorning of churches is an act of charity; he also defends the royal privilege of claiming patronage over this undertaking – namely, the construction of a monumental royal portico emulating Saint-Peter's in Rome and reflecting the magnitude of the Pantheon.

Fleming's sermon has to be understood within the context of the king's petition for financial support of 1633.[15] In this declaration Charles accuses the Puritan Reformers who abolished the Church's financial privileges and privatized her belongings, of having caused the current ruinous state of the cathedral church.[16] In taking money from the Church for personal enrichment, they have contravened what is morally good. By contrast, the church's restoration campaign is based on the virtues of liberality and magnificence. It is a magnificent undertaking, concerned with the restoration of England's most important cathedral church under royal patronage. The object, the circumstance and the

14 On Gyles (also Giles or Egidius) Fleming see: Clergy of England Database, *Fleming, Giles (1625–1665) CCEd Person ID: 88366*, available from https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/search/index.jsp (accessed 10.02.2018): Rector of Gaudly and Waddington, Preacher in the diocese of Lincoln, buried in Beverley Minster, on 23 January 1664 or 1665. Milton A., *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640* (Cambridge: 1995) 71. Sharpe K., *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics* (Cambridge: 2000) 47.

15 On the flow of money following the king's petition see Keene et al., *The Cathedral Church of London* 58, 59: From the accounts it can be deducted that £101,450 4s. 8d. passed into the Chamber of London between May 1631 and November 1644, the bulk of it between 1633 and 1635 and 1636 and 1638.

16 King Charles I, *His Majesties Commission, and Further Declaration: Concerning the Reparation of Saint Pauls Church* (London: Robert Barker, 1633) 2.

agent reunite the Aristotelean criteria for magnificence. However, without liberal contributions from the citizens, the royal donation would not suffice to pay for the whole undertaking:

> Sithence which time, Wee have given order for payment of a great summe of money out of Our owne Treasure, to bee imployed in that Worke [...] Yet finding that without further aides throughout all the partes of this Our Realme, so great a worke would not be finished; Wee resolved to commend this Charitable and Pious worke, to all Our loving Suiects [...].[17]

This charity, though it is neither royal nor magnificent in character, is presented as an act of liberality supporting the pious and noble restoration of the church, but not linked to a particular architectural outcome. As the royal declaration foresees, the liberal donations of the citizens will not be recorded in the architecture, but on paper, namely, in record books: 'They will make payment thereof; to which will their names be under written to remaine as a Testimonie of their pious intentions'.[18] Regarding royal patronage on the other hand, the king's petition stresses the magnificence of the endeavour, which is described as 'a worke so pleasing to God, and honorable to Us, and Our Government'.[19] This idea of royal magnificence is also reflected in the architecture of the portico. The west front of the cathedral was decorated with the statues of Charles I and James I. The Latin inscription of the front of the portico, CAROLUS D.G MAGNAE BRITANNIAE HIBERNIAE FRANCIAE REX F.D. TEMPULUM SANCTI PAULI VETUSTATE CONSUMPTUM RESTITUIT ET PORTICUM FECIT, proclaimed Charles as the restorer of St Paul's and the builder of the portico [Fig. 10.1].

Fleming's sermon reiterates this building rhetoric in 1634. It seems that the responses to the king's petition of 1633 were not successful enough. As Derek Keene pointed out, 'What can St Paul's have meant to the gentry and London's provincial visitors (aristocracy and politicians), many of whom looked westwards, towards Westminster rather than the City?'[20] In the City itself, members of the livery companies, who were often also important parish officials, invested both in the livery halls and their parish churches. While there was a

17 King Charles I, *His Majesties Commission, and Further Declaration* 6, 7.

18 King Charles I quoted in Keene et al., *The Cathedral Church of London* 58.

19 King Charles I, *His Majesties Commission, and Further Declaration* 10.

20 Keene et al., *The Cathedral Church of London* 46. Fleming G., *Magnificence Exemplified and the Repaire of Saint Paul's Exhorted unto. In a Sermon Appointed to be Preached at St.Pauls-Crosse, but Preached in the Church. August the 31 1634* (London: Richard Badger, 1634) 51.



FIGURE 10.1 Henry Hulsberg (engraver), after H. Flitcroft (artist), *View of St Paul's Cathedral's west front as initially designed by Inigo Jones – Unexecuted design* (ca. 1714). Engraving 60cms. London, London Metropolitan Archives (Main Print Collection q8019312)
IMAGE © COLLAGE – THE LONDON PICTURE ARCHIVE

general movement of rebuilding, repair and improvement of parish churches and public buildings in the City, the metropolitan cathedral received far less attention since the building was not socially tied to the *cursus honorum* of the City's merchants and aldermen.[21] Contrary to the gentry who are described as 'for a great part so vain, that they [...]would be more liberall to a Horse-race than to a Synagogue', and to the 'simple country man so ignorant, that he cannot apprehend it [the magnificent architecture of St. Paul's]', Fleming urges the traders to accept their Christian responsibility and support the repair of the cathedral: 'From you therefore, to whom Gods blessings hath afforded the greatest ability, God and men looke upon you expecting in these works the most liberall retribution'.[22]

Although Fleming never explicitly refers to the *Nicomachean Ethics*, the Aristotelian discourse – which was certainly known to educated high-society, but not necessarily to a common merchant – is present on different levels of the sermon and interwoven with Christian references taken from *Luke* 7:5, 'For he loveth our Nation, and he hath built us a Synagogue'. It was not uncommon for preachers of the period to 'Christianise' antique references and to use classical rhetorical models. However, Fleming's choice to explicitly use several passages from Aristotle's *Ethics* is rather exceptional. It testifies to Fleming's exhaustive knowledge of both antique philosophy and architecture and underlines his rhetorical ingenuity in combining three different aims into one unified strategy. While Charles' attempt to reduce the costs of the restoration for the Crown by appealing to the City merchants might at first seem contradictory to the Aristotelean notion of magnificence, Fleming's use of it in context of liberality and avarice coincides with the subdivision of the building works into the stately portico and the necessary restoration of the rest of the building. While the construction of the portico is a magnificent and royal enterprise, the other construction works oppose the charity of the pious to the avarice of the (Puritan) unfaithful. The liberal and charitable contribution thus becomes instrumental to the Caroline reforms in the Church which were also intended to reinforce the king's secular authority, by combatting Puritan dissidence and fostering obedience through force, authority and love. Historians of court studies as Malcolm Smuts and literary scholars have already emphasised the importance of the Lipsian virtue of love in Charles's political theology. Love, as an attitude of the king's subjects, and royal authority were considered as the

21 Merritt J.F., "Puritans, Laudians and the Phenomenon of Church Building in Jacobean London", *The Historical Journal* 41, 4 (1998) 935–960.

22 Fleming, *Magnificence Exemplified* 51.

ethical dispositions promoting unity and service to the common good.[23] Since charity was the fruit of love, the Lipsian and the Aristotelian discourse merge together in Fleming's sermon.

First the sermon is structured in three parts, reflecting the three premises of magnificence, namely the agent, the circumstance and the object. In Fleming's sermon, and with reference to Luke's verse, the Aristotelean premise becomes

> A true pious deed exemplified with all those severall circumstances, or adjuncts, that make it more laudable and illustrious: 1. The Roote or Foundation from whence it must proceed, Love, *Dilexit, he loved us*. 2. The Object or Persons to whom it is shewed, God's people, *gentem nostrum, Our Nation*. 3. The Fruit or effect how it exerciseth it selfe, *He built us a synagogue*.[24]

While the first two parts focusing on the agent and the circumstances, describe the liberality of the centurion, who built a synagogue out of love for the Christian nation, as an example for Fleming's audience; the last part dealing with the object, namely the church building, shifts to the magnificent character of the royal project. Indeed, throughout the text, three narratives, taking into account the conditions set out by Aristoteles for liberality and magnificence, namely the capacity of the agent, the circumstances and the object, are developed based upon biblical examples (agents), which are linked to the English situation:

> It is the intent of the Doer, that gives nature and quality to the deed that is done […] Herod built a Temple, it was out of ambition, his action therefore was vaine-glorious. Salomon out of obedience did the like; what he did therefore was religious […] This Centurion here build a Synagogue, hee doth it for the Love that he bare to the Nation, this made it charitable.[25]

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23 Smuts M., "Force, love and authority in Caroline political culture" in Atherton I. and Sanders J. (eds.), *The 1630's Interdisciplinary Essays, on Culture and Politics in the Caroline Era* (Manchester: 2006) 28–45. Smuts M. "Political thought in early Stuart Britain" in *A Companion to Stuart Britain* ed. Coward B. (Oxford: 2003) 286.

24 Fleming, *Magnificence Exemplified* 6.

25 Ibidem, 10.

3 Aristotelian Liberality and Lipsian Charity

What makes the building of the synagogue by the centurion a virtuous act is indeed not so much the scale and the cost of the building but the centurion's motivation, namely, his love or charity for the Jewish people. According to the Aristotelian premise, liberality 'resides not in the multitude of the gifts but in the state of character of the giver, and this is relative to giver's substance'.[26] Through a declination of the different types of love in a moral hierarchy, Fleming shows that the love of the centurion is indeed worthy to be construed as an epitome of liberality since it is not directed towards himself but to a people praised for their pious love of God:

> the centurion is here commended for a love to the whole nation [...].this must needs to be the most noble object of Love: first because love hereby becommeth to be more beneficial and doth most good [...] bestowed upon publicke; and therefore it exceeds that which derived unto some particulars [...] like God's love.[27]

Hence the centurion becomes 'heroic' in a way similar to the subscribers to king's petition who will contribute toward the restoration of the most important edifice in London and the Kingdom.

According to the *Nicomachean Ethics*, 'the liberal man, like other virtuous men, will give for the sake of the noble, and rightly; for he will give to the right people, the right amounts, and at the right time, with all the other qualifications that accompany right giving; and that too with pleasure'.[28] Fleming stresses that all these circumstances are fulfilled in the godly, peaceful and wealthy England of the 1630's:

> plenty and peace give the best abilities and opportunities, to workes of this nature: and therefore was the building of the Temple reserved till the raigne of Salomon, a time famous for them both. We abound and are happy in both these blessings [...] How then can we better set forth our great thankes to God for this great plenty, than in returning him some first fruits of it, in repairing and adorning his decaied houses of worship.[29]

26 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, Ross W.D. (transl.), online edn., available from http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/nicomachaen.html (accessed 07.03.2016).

27 Fleming, *Magnificence Exemplified* 14.

28 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* online edn.

29 Fleming, *Magnificence Exemplified* 44.

Furthermore, the City's traders and merchants benefit the most from the blessed state of the nation, hence it is their moral duty to finance this noble and pious project.[30]

4 Godly and Royal Magnificence

Fleming engineers a shift in discourse from liberality to magnificence in the third part of his sermon, which deals with the actual restoration campaign at St Paul's. In order to do this, he intervened in the structure of his sermon. This part of the sermon functions both as the third part of the primary structure, namely, 'The Fruit or effect how it exerciseth it selfe, He built us a synagogue', but is also itself subdivided according to the Aristotelean premise of magnificence:

> […] to exhort and exalt this great worke now begun, upon this mighty Fabrike wherein we are now assembled … Three advocates […] plead for this Church above any other whatsoever. 1. The Place or Situation, so conspicuous 2. The use or imployment of it, so general 3. The Author who intendeth now there-edification (sic), so royall and gratious.[31]

Stressing the importance of St Paul's cathedral as the mother church of England, and of the royal patronage of King Charles for its restoration, Fleming adverts to the biblical exemplum of Solomon rather than that of the centurion in his discourse on magnificence. Solomon's construction of the Temple is indeed commonly described in terms of religious magnificence. But with respect to Aristotelean ethics, the construction of the Temple can be read as the most perfect example of magnificence, as the agent is a king, the motivation is a divine order and the object is the construction of the most prominent place of public worship in honour of God. Last but not least, upon divine command, this was all reflected in the splendid architecture, both as regards character and decorum: 'Solomon hath a further reason; he thought by the magnificence of his Temple, most fitly to set forth the greatnesse and Majesty of God … *And the house which I build is great, for great is our God above all Gods*'.[32]

30 Keene et al., *The Cathedral Church of London* 46: Between 1600 and 1700 London saw an unprecedented growth in population driven by trade and finance or by political and religious persecution.

31 Fleming, *Magnificence Exemplified* 46, 47.

32 Ibidem, 41.

Applying the same reasoning to England in 1634, Fleming concludes: 'They [the synagogues] were, indeed, answerable to our Parochiall assemblies or private Churches; The Temple like our Cathedrals'.[33] Recalling Aristotle's description of magnificence as a fitting expenditure bestowed upon public and religious buildings and involving honour and largeness of scale, Fleming demonstrates the necessity of a magnificent architecture for the cathedral. Firstly, the cathedral ought to be a dignified expression of the Church of England's devotion to God; secondly, it is a public place of worship which is also used for holding religious assemblies such as chapters and synods; lastly, it is the work of 'his religious Majesty'. The magnificence of the architecture not only exudes royal patronage, but also God's glory and the power of the Church of England.[34] Hence, it is crucial that the most prominent cathedral of the kingdom, should have a dignified expression in its architecture:

> It standeth like the Temple of Ierusalem in the Metropolis or Head City of the Land. Hither all Strangers who come upon our Coasts, resort and repaire, and they do judge and censure of the whole state of the Kingdome, and how we stand affected to Religion, according to the Scale which they take of this place. Who will not say, but it would scandal the very Religion that we do professe that Foreigners should come to us and see Magnificence, and Kingly royalty of building, in every corner of this great Citie, and in this our chiefest Church, nothing but vastnesse and ruine.[35]

This paragraph certainly accounts for the longstanding difficult relationship between the City of London and the Court at Westminster. Many royal proclamations attempted to regulate (illegal) building activity in the City, but without success.[36] When this paragraph is interpreted within the context of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, the refusal to invest in the cathedral's repair becomes not

33 Ibidem, 32.

34 Ibidem, 37.

35 Ibidem, 47.

36 See for instance King James I, *A Proclamation concerning Buildings, in and about London* (London: Bonham Norton and John Bill, 1624): 'And whereas the fame of our Royal providence, for the wealth and honour of that Our Imperiall City, hath produced good effects, and most men (especially persons of best ranke and qualitie, in, and about the said Citie) have readily submitted to Our princely directions: Neverthelesse, because some others, in and about the said Citie, have endeavoured to withstand and crosse to honourable a design; we have thought fit to publish and declare Our constant resolution….. For further course to be taken, for reformation of the offence, and punishment of the delinquents, as to iustice shall appertaine, upon paine, that the said Aldermen and their Deputies being remisse, shall incure Our indignation, and such severe punishment, as the neglect of this

only judicially but also morally unacceptable. Instead of adding to the honour of the City, the money spent on private buildings turns into vulgarity and lack of taste, 'which do not go to excess in the amount spent on right objects, but by showy expenditure in the wrong circumstances and the wrong manner'.[37] Fleming concludes his sermon by urging the virtuous merchants to act liberally and to spend their money not indiscriminately but on right people, at the right time and for a noble cause, as the centurion did:

> In this one thing we are excited to a continuation and addition of our liberal contributions: [...] It is not Centurio but Imperator, Caesar, himselfe buildeth; and not a private Synagogue but a glorious Cathedrall. A Worke so worthy, that it deserveth a King for the Author; so great and costly, that it requireth a Kingdome for the contribution. Therefore from Dan to Beersheba, should every one be called to joyne in it. But more especially, yee, the inhabitants of this honourable Citie, ought to shew your selves in it, most forward and exemplary. [...] Your Citie is, that hath produced so many good Centurions in all other good workes, that we cannot despaire but it will yeeld likewise those that will open their hands to it. Therefore as it is royally begun, I hope it will be religiously followed [...].[38]

5 An Entrance in 'Regal Style'

However, as is most common with sermons, Fleming does not explain how this 'liberality' and 'magnificence' should be expressed in the architecture of St Paul's. The only built reference to magnificence is made in very generic terms referring to great scale and costly materials such as gold, marble and porphyry, recalling the biblical exemplum of Solomon's Temple and voicing the rules of magnificent expenditure in architecture formulated by Vitruvius.[39] In the sixth book, Vitruvius argues that the client (public or private) is magnificent, because the beauty of a building depends on its cost and public function. The materials should be of the best quality and most beautiful, which means that they are usually the most expensive. The scale of the building and the organization of

Our Royal commandment shall deserve'. This was reiterated in proclamations of 1629 and 1630.

37 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, online edn.

38 Fleming, *Magnificence Exemplified* 50, 51.

39 Ibidem, 44.

the ground plan should also reflect the social status and public function of the building and its patron.[40] In a series of publications dedicated to the subject, Vaughan Hart and Richard Tucker have shown that Inigo Jones, the surveyor of the king's works and architect of St Paul's, based his design of the portico (as well as the other façades) on Vitruvian theory and classical decorum.[41] According to Vitruvius an entrance in 'regal style' was necessary to express the dignity of the building and when added to a temple, a stylar portico 'gave the initiates more room and imparted the greatest dignity to the building'.[42] The king's decision to embellish the west front at St Paul's rather than to restore the church's spire also reflected a trend in continental church architecture towards the royal patronage of lavish architectural entrance fronts. Charles I his brother-in-law Louis XIII had for instance paid for the vast three-tiered façade of the Jesuit church of Saint Louis (now Saint Paul-Saint-Louis) in Paris.[43]

Inigo Jones' shaped this royal magnificence in the design of a monumental Corinthian portico [Fig. 10.2]. According to surviving drawings it might have been intended to be decorated with the IHS monogram, angels with palms and statues of King James I and Charles I who, according to a later and speculative engraving by Flitcroft for John Webb, were in company of the Saxon royal ancestors who had established the English Christian tradition.[44] In his *History of St Paul's Cathedral* the antiquarian and anti-Puritan, William Dugdale describes that the portico was intended to be an honour to the Christian faith, the nation and English monarchy:

> Nor was the King himself without any high sense of the honour done unto Christian Religion; and the same which would redound to this whole English Nation, by thus restoring to life so signall a Monument of his renowned ancestors piety, (I mean King Ethelbert and the other Saxon Kings) as may seem by that most magnificent and stately Portico, with Corinthian Pillars, which at his own charge he erected at the West end

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40 Vitruvius P., *The Ten Books on Architecture*, Morgan M.H. (transl.) (Cambridge: 1914) 220: 'for men of rank who, from holding offices and magistracies, have social obligations to their fellow-citizens, lofty entrance courts in regal style, and most spacious atriums and peristyles, with plantations and walks of some extent in them, appropriate to their dignity'. Already in 1631, upon the commissioners' first meeting it was decided that the houses and cellars encroaching on the cathedral should be demolished. See Keene et al., *The Cathedral Church of London* 175.

41 Hart and Tucker, "Ornament in the work" 36–52. Hart, *Inigo Jones* 36, 211–225.

42 Vitruvius, *The Ten Books* 238.

43 Keene et al., *The Cathedral Church of London* 178.

44 Hart, *Inigo Jones* 31.

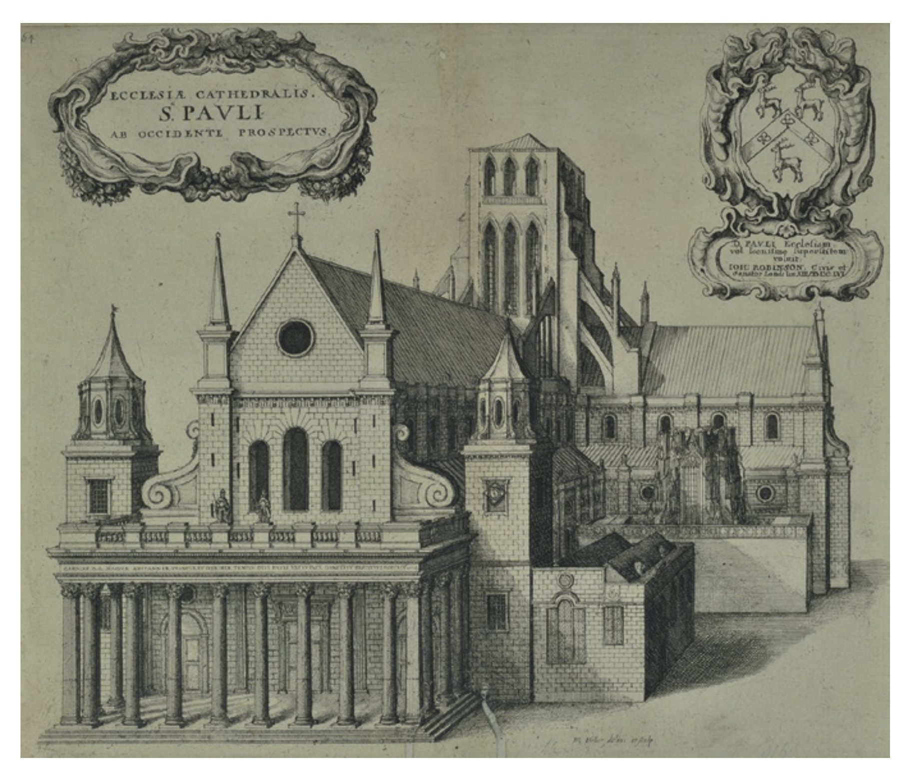


FIGURE 10.2 Wenceslas Hollar (engraver), after Inigo Jones, *St Paul's Cathedral (old): Exterior from south west* (ca. 1658). Engraving 27cms. London, London Metropolitan Archives (Metropolitan Prints Collection SC_PZ_CT_01_2236)

> thereof; where he placed the Statues of his Royall Father (King James I) and himself for a lasting memoriall of this their advancement of so glorious a work.[45]

The executed façade design consisted of the Corinthian columns and the statues of James and Charles. The Saxon kings were part of the interior decoration patronized by Sir Paul Pindar (1565–1650) in 1633, thus before the execution of the exterior west portico.

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45 Dugdale W., *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral in London, from Its Foundation....* (London: Tho.Warren, 1658) 160.

6 The Liberal Merchant's Beauty of Holiness

Pindar, who was an extremely successful merchant, diplomat and tax farmers-general, generously contributed towards the king's and Laud's rebuilding fund for St Paul's Cathedral in the 1630s, with a donation of £10,000.[46] This sum was used for the refurbishment of the cathedral's interior as acknowledged in one of the first historical and architectural treatises on English church architecture published in 1638 by the anonymous Laudian partisan R.T. and dedicated to Pindar: 'at whose sole costs and charges the Quire [was] beautified with guildings and paintings, and statetly adorned with rich hangings.'[47] The 1633 edition of John Stow's *Survey of London* reports that the choir was 'painted which rich colours in Oyle'.[48] Dugdale describes the works at the choir as:

> Sir Paul Pinder [...] having at his own charge, first repaired the decays of that goodly partition, made at the West end of the Quire; adorning the font thereof, outwards, with fair Pillars of black Marble, and Statues of those Saxon Kings, which had been Founders, of Benefactors to the Church; beautified the inner part thereof, with figures of Angells; and all the wainscote work of the Quire, with excellent carving; viz of Cherubins and other Imagery, richly gilded; adding costly suits of Hangings for the upper end therof.[49]

46 Ashton R., "Pindar, Sir Paul (1565/6–1650)" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Online edn, Jan 2008, available from doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/22291 (accessed 21.03.2017). From 1609 Pindar became involved in commercial diplomacy as the consul of the English merchants at Aleppo and, after 1611, as English ambassador at Constantinople. He was knighted in 1620. During the reign of Charles I much of the great wealth which he had accumulated abroad went into the management of the great and petty customs farms, of which he became the dominant figure. He also invested in and managed the farm of the royal alum manufacture in Yorkshire in 1628.

47 R.T., *De Templis. A Treatise of Temples wherein is Discovered the Ancient Manner of Building, Consecrating and Adorning of Churches* (London: R. Bishop, 1638) 231.

48 Stow J. et al., *The Survey of London: Contayning the Originall, Increase, Moderne Estate, and Government of that City,....* (London: Elizabeth Purslow, 1633) 767.

49 Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls* 140. For the importance of the Saxon tradition in the Church of England see Niles J.D., *The Idea of Anglo-Saxon England 1066–1901. Remembering, Forgetting, Deciphering and Renewing the Past* (Oxford: 2015) 77–107 and for its influence on architecture see Morel A.F., "Preserving the Nation's Zeal: Church Buildings and English History in Stuart England," in Enenkel K. – Ottenheym K. (eds.), Intersections (Leiden: 2019), vol. 60, *The Quest for an Appropriate Past: 1400–1700*, 707–730.

The royal statues most probably decorated the chancel screen. These screens were characteristic for the Laudian beauty-of-holiness program which sanctified the chancel and the altar. Such a chancel screen carved out of wood and decorated with iron or brass is also described in R.T.'s *De Templis*, along with the glorious ornaments of the communion table: 'Hither bring your stateliest hangings, and adorne the walls, hither your richest carpets, and bespred the ground; hither the most glorious silks and finest linen, to cover the holy Table'.[50] This passage recalls Dudgale's reference to the costly textiles used at the east end of St Paul's quoted above, and once again testifies of the close connection between R.T.'s treatise and Pindar's refurbishment of St Paul's choir. In the last part of his treatise R.T. not only describes the refurbishment and decoration of churches as part of the Laudian beauty-of-holiness program, but he emphasises that it is a compulsory form of liberality or munificence in religious affairs.[51] He utterly rejects the Elizabethan *Homily against the peril of idolatry*: *the superfluous decking of Churches*, as contrary to the virtues of liberality and magnificence. The Elizabethan homily was indeed one of the only official documents addressing the subject of 'Reformed' or 'Puritan' church architecture. Together with the Homily *For the repair and keeping clean the Church* it condemned the use of ornament, the Table of Commandments and the royal coat of arms excepted, as 'superstition, hypocrisie, [...] vaine religion, in phantasticall adorning and decking'.[52] Considered within context of the Laudian beauty of holiness and the Aristotelean virtues of liberality and magnificence, the Puritan sobriety in church architecture was however turned into a vice. Following the biblical example of Solomon, building and decorating churches was a pious and magnificent deed set by royals, followed by pious and liberal citizens and honoured in history:

> When the royall deeds of our so deer Soveraignes blessed reigne shall be delivered to posterity, his magnificent piety, his care and religious

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50 R.T., *De Templis* 201.

51 Ibidem, 220. Munificence is a synonym for liberality, bounty, generosity. See Johnson S., *A Dictionary of the English Language in which the Words are Deduced from their Originals....* (Dublin: W.G. Jones, 1768).

52 Jewel J., "For the repair and keeping clean the Church and Homily against the peril of idolatry: the superfluous decking of Churches" in Cramner T. – Jewel J. (eds.), *Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches in the Time of Queen Elizabeth, The Second Book of Homilies* (London, John Bill: 1623) 4. Online edn., available from http://www.anglicanlibrary.org/homilies/index.htm (accessed 23.02. 2015).

> diligence in building and adorning sacred Temples, must needs take up a great part in the story. Who knowes whether this little treatise may after a long and vile neglect be again brought to light and perpetuate the honourable and pious munificence of Sr. Paul Pindar.[53]

Pindar can thus be seen as a most perfect example of Fleming's 'liberal merchant'. In fact, his name was still linked decennia later in a list of exemplary City benefactors.[54] Even if the project was financed by Paul Pindar, the rejuvenation of the choir scene at St Paul's can only be understood as part and parcel of the overall royal project for the cathedral. Hence the placement of the statues of the Saxon kings in the choir.

7 Conclusion: the Mother of All Churches and the King of the Kings

On 16 May 1631, William Laud told the Privy Council that St Paul's was a 'disgrace to o[u]r Country, and the Cittie, and a common imputation and scandal laid upon o[u]r Religion, by o[u]r adversaries, as voyde of charity and true devotion'.[55] With these words Laud took up the responsibility for the royal fundraising campaign which would last for many years in order to gather the necessary funds for the restoration of St Paul's. Literature so far has never really aimed to establish the link between this campaign and its concrete architectural outcome, the royal patronage of the west portico excepted. As this contribution has shown through the analysis of Fleming's sermon, the other architectural interventions, including the interior restoration of the choir patronized by Paul Pindar, form part and parcel of the royal program and contribute to it both financially and architecturally. Indeed, with the restoration of St Paul's, the king and archbishop aimed to get a grip on the City's architectural development, while trying at the same time to restore beauty and dignity to the Church of England, sorely lacking in these qualities, at least from a Laudian point of view, after the Reformation. Centrepiece of this endeavour was the well-studied west portico that exuded royal magnificence. Inigo

53 Ibidem, 230.

54 Waterhouse E., *A Modest Discourse of the Piety, Charity and Policy of Elder Times and Christians* (London: A.M. for Simon Miller, 1655) 255–256 as quoted in McCullough P., "Preaching and Context", in McCullough P. – Adlington H. – Rhatigan E. (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford: 2011) 227.

55 Keene et al., *The Cathedral Church of London* 57.



FIGURE 10.3 Inigo Jones, *English houses with London and the Thames far off with St Pauls cathedral*, stage design for "Britannia Triumphans" (1638). Pen and ink on paper. Devonshire, Chatsworth Collection

Jones's annotations in his copy of Palladio's *Quattro Libri* showed how he thought such a structure could embody what he called 'the Romain Greatnes' [Fig. 10.3].[56] However, one must not forget the intrinsic link between this portico and the rest of the cathedral. As has become clear from a description of the cathedral's interior by Dugdale and its representative role in R.T.'s *De Templis*, the decoration of the cathedral's chancel screen resonates with that of the portico. While the inscription and the royal statues of the Stuart kings on the portico clearly testify to the royal patronage and the magnificence of this enterprise, the Saxon ancestors of the Stuart monarchy were represented

56 Anderson C., "Words Fail Me: Architectural Experience beyond Language", in Garric J.P. – Lemerle F. – Pauwels Y. (eds.), *Architecture et théorie. L'héritage de la Renaissance*, 2018, Collections électroniques de l'INHA Actes de colloques et livres en ligne de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art, available from http://journals.openedition.org/inha/3396 (accessed 18.03.2019).

in the church's interior. Whereas the interior was paid for by Paul Pindar and not by the king, the inclusion of the Saxon kings in the decorative design of the chancel screens supported the king's and the (arch-) bishop's claim to imperial monarchy in relation to the ancient and medieval church, hence appealing to pre-Reformation tradition.

The reading of Fleming's sermon helps us to understand how the centralized system of control and accountability put in place for the restoration of St Paul's, not only explains the relative financial success but also the architectural outcome of the restoration program between 1631 and 1642. As clearly demonstrated by Fleming, the church's restoration campaign was from the onset based upon the virtues of liberality and magnificence which made it possible to consolidate the financial, religious (moral) and architectural program. The object, the circumstances and the agent reunited the Aristotelean criteria for magnificence as they were bound up with the restoration of England's most important cathedral church under royal patronage, and involved donations made on the basis of liberality and charity.

Almost literally serving as an answer to Laud and Fleming, a statement by Jones's former apprentice and fellow architect John Webb (1611–1672) characterizes the restoration as a religious proclamation made to the entire world: 'the Envy of all Christendom upon our Nation, for a Piece of Architecture, not to be parallel'd in these last Ages of the World'.[57] While the magnificent portico and its royal inscription in stone was targeted by iconoclasts during the Civil War, and flames consumed the entire church in 1666, the liberal deed of Sir Paul Pindar was immortalized on paper by R.T.'s *De Templis* and in a monument to him in St Botolph Bishopsgate. Should these recordings, we might ask, be understood as an expression of vainglory? Hennessy recalls that 'This sir Paul Pindar was a rich merchant in the time of James I and Charles I and by his attachment to these sovereigns, especially the later he was ruined'.[58]

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57 Webb J., *A Vindication of Stone-Heng Restored in which the Orders and Rules of Architecture Observed by the Ancient Romans, Are Discussed. Together with the Customs and Manners of Several Nations* [...] *in Matters of Building of Greatest Antiquity* (London: James Bettenham, 1725) 27.

58 Hennessy G., *Novum repertorium ecclesiasticum parochiale, or London Diocesan Clergy Succession from the Earliest Time to the Year 1898, with Copious Notes* (London: 1898) 110.

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CHAPTER 11

Magnificent! Gaspar Fagel's Plant Collection at Leeuwenhorst

Elizabeth den Hartog

1 Introduction

Before the death of William II of Orange in 1650, a stadholder and an assembly of provincial representatives, known as the States General, governed the seven provinces comprised by the Dutch Republic. In that year, the regents of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Guelders, and Overijssel abolished the office of stadholder and themselves assumed command. In 1672, the Dutch Republic was on the verge of collapse. During this so-called Disaster Year, the united Dutch provinces were simultaneously attacked by the French, English and several other parties. The French managed to seize the city of Utrecht, and on their way there, destroyed the country-houses and castles of those who would not submit to their regime. Holland escaped this fate by putting into action the Dutch *waterlinie* (water-line), i.e., by inundating much of the land, a stratagem that nearly failed when the waters froze over in winter. These calamitous events caused the government of the Republic to break down, and in the violence that followed, those held responsible were murdered.[1] With the Republic facing multiple enemies, the States General restored power to the House of Orange. William II's son William III (1650–1702), after having been made captain-general of the Republic's troops as well as stadholder, gradually managed to turn the tide by expelling the foreign troops. In 1677, he married his first cousin Mary, daughter of James II of England, a sign of his improved relationship with the English. Relations with France, however, remained tense.

Sixteen years later, on 12 December 1688, Gaspar Fagel [Fig. 11.1], grand pensionary of Holland and one of William's closest advisors, died. William was much shaken by his death, and wrote: 'I lose the greatest friend that I can have in this world, and the States certainly their most faithful servant'. This praise was utterly deserved, for Fagel had played an important role in securing William's position as stadholder of the Dutch Republic in 1672, and had also paved the way for him to become King William III of England in 1689. William,

1 Troost W., *Stadhouder-koning Willem III. Een politieke biografie* (Hilversum: 2001) 80–100.

 DOI:10.1163/9789004436800_013



FIGURE 11.1 Johannes Vollevens (I) (copy after), "Portrait of Gaspar Fagel (1633–1688), Grand Pensionary of Holland, with in the background the Meeting Hall of the States of Holland at the Binnenhof in The Hague" (after 1672). Oil on canvas, 67 × 54 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (Inv. No. SK-A-283)
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

on the other hand, had been instrumental in making Fagel state pensionary in 1672, a function comparable to that of prime-minister and minister of foreign affairs combined, and although the latter had requested permission to retire when his first term of office came to an end in 1677, stating he was much disliked and in bad health, William persuaded him to accept a second, and even a third, five-year term of office.[2]

Today, Fagel is not so much remembered for his statesmanship as for the rare and priceless plant collection that he brought together at Leeuwenhorst near Noordwijkerhout.[3] This garden, even though it was a rather short-lived enterprise that survived its owner by no more than a few years, acquired rapid fame and was visited by the most eminent botanists of Europe. The importance and value of Fagel's collection may be gauged from the fact that, in spite of having been born into a distinguished patrician family, earning an extremely good income and living frugally, Fagel left next to nothing to his heirs.[4] Concurring with Aristotle's rule, as set out in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (4.2) – 'great expenditure is becoming to those who have suitable means to start with, acquired by their own efforts or from ancestors or connections, and to people of high birth or reputation, and so on; for all these things bring with them greatness and prestige' – Fagel is likely to have construed his lavish expenditure on plants as right and even 'virtuous', not only due to his distinguished family lineage, but also because he held one of the highest political positions in the Dutch Republic. In creating the collection, Fagel proved himself to be a 'magnificent

2 For Gaspar Fagel, see Japikse N.M., *Het archief van de familie Fagel, Algemeen Rijksarchief* (The Hague: 1964) XX; Vernooij R.A.M. – Strasser L., *Inventaris van het archief van Casper Fagel, Raadspensionaris van Holland 1672–1688* (The Hague: 1991); Edwards E., "An Unknown Statesman: Gaspar Fagel in the Service of William III and the Dutch Republic", *History* 87 (2002) 353–371; Edwards E., "Commemorative poems and other pamphlets on the politics of the Grand Pensionary Gasper Fagel (1672–1688)", *Dutch Crossing* 30, 2 (2006) 197–210.

3 Hartog E. den – Teune C., "In Horto Fageliano", in Hartog E. den et al. (eds.), *Leeuwenhorst, een Hollandse buitenplaats*, Jaarboek Kastelenstichting Holland en Zeeland (Rotterdam: 2003) 55–74; Hartog E. den – Teune C., "Gaspar Fagel (1633–88): His Garden and Plant Collection at Leeuwenhorst", *Garden History. Journal of the Garden History Society* 30, 2 (2003) 191–205.

4 Kok J., *Vaderlandsch Woordenboek* (Amsterdam: 1786) volume XV: 'Anderen, die zig bevlijtigd hebben om zijnen lof te verbreiden, verklaaren dat hij geheel en al vrij was van eenige schraapzugt; zij brengen bij tot bewijs, dat, schoon hij twee Jaaren bekleed had het Ampt van Griffier, zestien Jaaren dat van Raad-Pensionaris van Holland, op een traktement van twaalfduizend guldens, en vervolgens, door den dood van den Heere van Duivenvoorden, geworden zijnde groot zegelbewaarder van Holland, en stadhouder van de Leenen, welke Ampten mede eenen goede somme opbrengen, daarenboven nog Hoog Heemraad van Rhijnland was, echter weinig of niets heeft nagelaaten; als hebbende het grootste deel zijner middelen verspild aan de Abtdij van Leeuwenhorst, eene plaatze aan de Ridderschap behoorende, die hem tot zijne uitspanninge vergund was'.

man', as his project was to all intents and purposes 'a fitting expenditure involving largeness of scale [...] fitting to the agent, the circumstances and the object'.[5]

This having been said, Fagel's motives in creating this magnificent collection of extremely rare and costly plants are somewhat puzzling. He was neither an ostentatious man nor a scientist; as a shrewd and level-headed politician, he worked like a spider behind the scenes, with calculation and deliberation. His collection is thus unlikely to have been the result of a personal whim, nor does he seem to have collected to exalt his own person and political status, his personal *magnificentia*. This suggests that the collection more probably served a political purpose, in keeping with his representative duties as Grand Pensionary, which required him to underscore the dignity of the United Provinces, extolling his homeland in every way possible.[6]

In this article, I will argue that Fagel's collection of exotic plants formed part of a public-spirited campaign in which other private botanical gardens throughout the Dutch Republic were implicated; together they portrayed or, better, staged the Republic as a *Paradisus Batavus*, a paradise on earth, that, having survived the ravaging of the country by the French, was again flourishing under the newly-appointed stadholder William III. The extremely rare plants on display in these gardens hinted at the Republic's unique sources of wealth and knowledge, and simultaneously brought out the country's greatness, its expansive scope and far-reaching influence in the wider world overseas, and could thus be seen as a propagandistic means of showing off the *magnificentia* of the Republic. I will first discuss Fagel's garden at Leeuwenhorst, and how he came by his very exclusive plants, the possession of which trespassed upon Dutch trade monopolies. Following this, I will deal with the so-called 'garden circuit', at the moment of its inception, and explain how and by whom these private botanical plant collections were visited. Lastly, I will address the question of how, and by what means, their owners ensured that the fame of the collections circulated widely as propaganda for the success – and magnificence – of the Dutch Republic.

5 Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. D. Ross, rev. L. Brown (Oxford: 2014).

6 Heringa J., *De eer en hoogheid van de staat. Over de plaats der verenigde Nederlanden in het diplomatieke leven in de zeventiende eeuw* (Groningen: 1961) 37–38.

2 Fagel's Garden at Leeuwenhorst

From 1676 onwards, Gaspar Fagel rented the Leeuwenhorst estate near Noordwijkerhout from the Ridderschap (Knighthood) of Holland; he hoped to retire there from his busy life in The Hague.[7] The Leeuwenhorst account books indicate that he fully renovated the house, farms and estate, before setting his mind to creating a most splendid garden.[8] A reasonable idea of how this garment looked is offered by an eighteenth-century map in the Bodel-Nijenhuis collection of Leiden University.[9] In terms of layout and size, it was clearly rather a modest affair that was probably never completed [Fig. 11.2]. However, as mentioned, it was neither the plan nor the sculptures and ornaments with which the garden was adorned that made Fagel's venture famous in its time, but rather the exotic and often rare plants that he managed to amass in the last seven years of his life. Although Fagel did not, as far as we know, draw up a catalogue of his collection, an idea of its contents may be had from early inventories, herbaria and the 97 watercolours of plants that Stephanus Cousins, Cousijns or Cousyns made between 1 August 1685 and 7 November 1688 at the behest of William III.[10] Cousijns' watercolours, moreover, show how the exclusive character of the plants, which did not always look very splendid, was highlighted by means of the fancy containers and plant pots wherein they were displayed.[11]

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7 For a brief history of the Leeuwenhorst estate, see Hartog E. den, "Leeuwenhorst bij Noordwijkerhout", in: Stöver J. et al (eds.), *Kastelen en buitenplaatsen in Zuid-Holland* (Zutphen: 2000) 88–95.

8 The Hague, National Archive, *Archief van de Ridderschap van Holland*, inv. no. 705 fol. CXXXVIII verso. For 17th-century gardens in the Netherlands, see Jong de J., *Nature and Art. Dutch Garden and Landscape Architecture, 1650–1740* (Philadelphia: 2000).

9 For maps of the Leeuwenhorst estate and their reliability, see Hartog E. den, "The Site of the Former Abbey Church of Leeuwenhorst near Noordwijkerhout in the Netherlands", *Cîteaux. Commentarii Cistercienses* 50, 1–2 (1999) 187–195.

10 Groen B., "De Codex Regius Honselaerdicensis", in Hartog E. den et al. (eds.), *Leeuwenhorst, een Hollandse buitenplaats*, Jaarboek Kastelenstichting Holland en Zeeland (Rotterdam: 2003) 75–86.

11 That such decorative plant pots ever existed has sometimes been questioned but excavations at a very modest country estate near Alphen have brought too light very ornate terracotta pots, see Hartog E. den – Hollander L. den – Baar P. de, "Laat 17e-eeuwse decoratieve tuinpotten van de buitenplaats Swanendrift", *Westerheem* 54, 6 (2005) 313–325. William had probably intended the Codex to be a present for Fagel, who unfortunately died on 15 December 1688 before it could be completed. His heirs then sold the collection to William, who had it transferred to his palace at Honselaarsdijk, which is why the Cousijns' drawings of Fagel's plants came to be bound together as the Codex Honselaerdicensis.

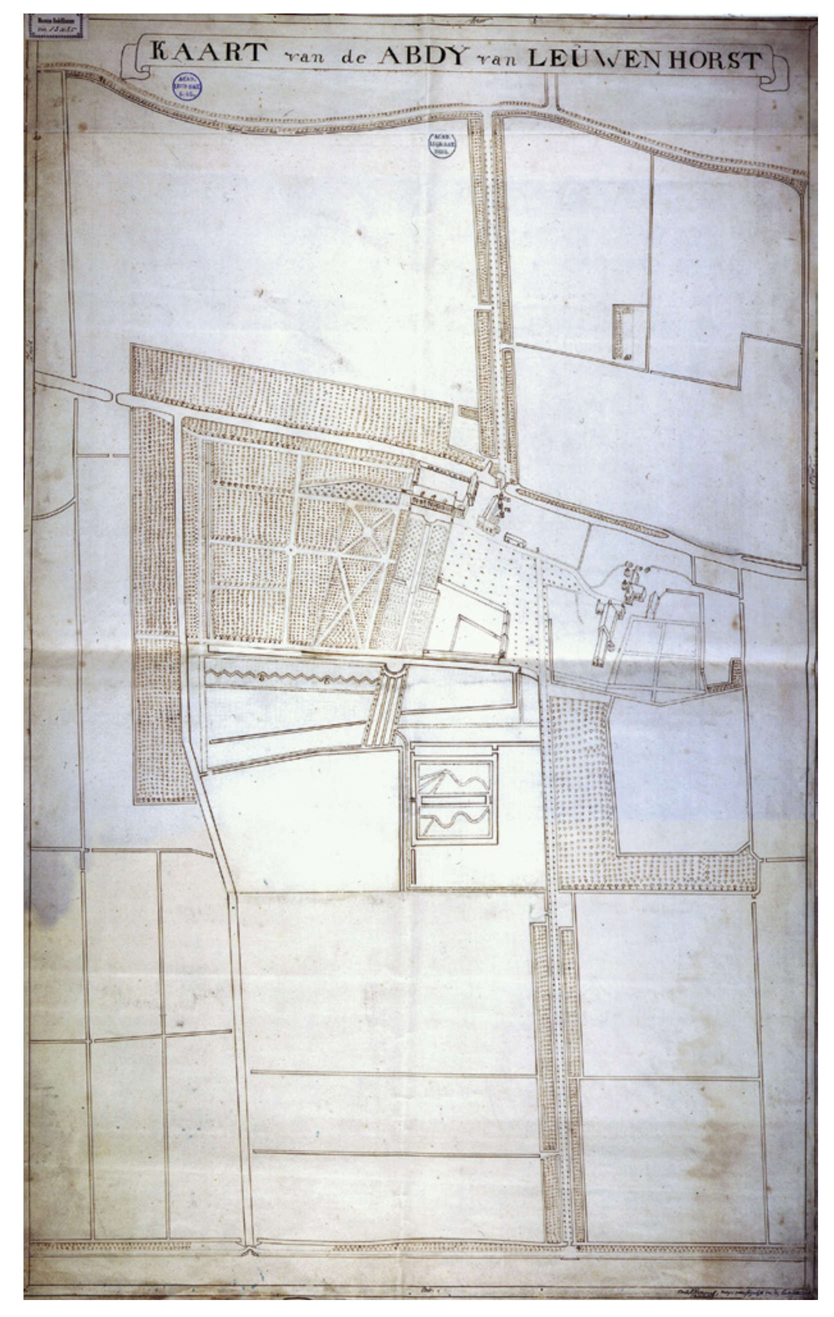


FIGURE 11.2 Hand-drawn plan of the Leeuwenhorst house and gardens (before 1789). 106 × 65 cm. Bodel-Nijenhuis Collection, University Library Leiden (Port 13 N 35)
IMAGE © LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Although Fagel's garden contained plants from the Cape of Good Hope, Europe, North and South America, South and Southwest Asia, the Mediterranean, the Canary Islands, Africa and Japan, the ones that gave the collection particular fame were those that could be seen nowhere else in Western Europe. These plants had been obtained through his contacts in the Dutch colonies of Ceylon, Malabar, Indonesia and the Cape, which had only recently come under Dutch rule.[12] The last shipment to reach Fagel before his death in 1688 was a basket with bulbs and a small box with rare seeds from Cartagena (Colombia). The letter accompanying this package, dated 20 October 1688, describes its contents as 'noijt diergelijcke in hollant gesien sijn' – 'the like were never seen in Holland'.[13]

One of the channels through whom Fagel managed to obtain such unique plants was his friend Joan Huydecoper van Maarseveen, who was both a director of the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie or VOC (Dutch East India Company) and a commissioner of the Amsterdam Hortus Medicus founded in 1682. Although not a plant collector himself, Huydecoper procured plants for his friends through his family relations with Johan Bacx, sergeant-major at Ceylon and later governor of the Cape, and Simon van der Stel, who was commander at the Cape. He also befriended Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede, who, as commissioner-general, was charged with the inspection of Bengal, Coromandel, Ceylon and other places in 1684. When Van Rheede left for the colonies, various people asked him to send plant material from these places to Holland. Besides Fagel, these were stadholder William III, Hieronymus van Beverningk (a prominent statesman and diplomat), Paul Hermann (from 1680 the prefect of the Leiden Hortus Botanicus), Joan Huydecoper and Jan Commelin (another director of the Amsterdam Hortus Medicus).[14] Huydecoper also had good contacts with the commanders of the colonies in South America. Via Cornelis van Aerssen van Sommelsdijk, who had founded a botanical garden in Paramaribo, he obtained plants from Surinam, and via Jan

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12 Wijnands D.O., *The Botany of the Commelins* (Rotterdam: 1983); Heniger J., *Hendrik Adriaan van Reede tot Drakenstein (1636–1691) and Hortus Malabaricus* (Rotterdam – Boston: 1986); Wijnands D.O., "Hortus Auriaci: the Gardens of Orange and their Place in late 17th-Century Botany and Horticulture", in Dixon Hunt J. – Jong E. de (eds.), *The Anglo-Dutch Garden in the Age of William and Mary*, Special issue *Journal of Garden History* 8, 2–3 (1988) 61–86.

13 The Hague, National Archive, Fagel Family Archive inv. 2014.

14 Heniger, "Hortus Malabaricus" 65; The Hague, National Archive, *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) 1602–1811*, inv. no. 321: 243v–255.

van Erpecum, director of the Dutch colony at Curacao, he managed to acquire plants from here also.[15]

In spite of these contacts, getting hold of plants from the colonies was far from easy, for in order to safeguard Dutch trade it was forbidden to use the ships of the VOC for the transport of private goods. In a letter dated 18 October 1677, the Lords XVII of the VOC wrote that a ship returning to Holland in the summer of the previous year was 'covered and obstructed in such a way with boxes, and in such great numbers, as if they were whole gardens, resulting in so great a weakening and damaging of the ship by all the weight on top that we were obliged to write off and prohibit herewith the sending of all those cuttings, trees and plants'. However, already in 1680 the prohibition had to be reissued.[16] In spite of this, when on 28 November 1684 Gaspar Fagel requested permission to send, at his own cost, a person to the Cape to collect plants there, this permission was granted.[17]

Some of the plants Fagel managed to acquire were extremely valuable, being species on which the Dutch held a monopoly. The commanders of the VOC were acutely aware of this and took measures to protect their own interests from perceived risks. This is why the cinnamon, clove, and camphor trees that had been planted for both Gaspar Fagel and the Amsterdam Hortus Medicus at the VOC garden at the Cape with the approval of Simon van der Stel, who was the commander there, were destroyed at the behest of some of the other commanders during an inspection in 1686, afraid as they were that the Dutch would lose the monopoly on these plants.[18] However, Fagel managed to obtain a specimen of a cinnamon plant anyway. Obviously, as grand pensionary of Holland, Fagel had the right connections with government officials and commanders of the VOC and West-Indische Compagnie or WIC (West India Company) to be granted special favours beyond the possibilities of most of his contemporaries.

Fagel's garden at Leeuwenhorst acquired fame very quickly, even though access to his unique and valuable plant collection was restricted, as is clear from the following. Fagel's neighbour, Pieter Teding van Berkhout, visited the Leeuwenhorst gardens on various occasions up to 1686, as he writes in his

15 Heniger, "Hortus Malabaricus" 161.

16 Heniger, "Hortus Malabaricus" 83, note 36; The Hague, National Archive, *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (*VOC*) *1602–1811*, Letter-book of the Lords XVII 1673–1681.

17 Wijnands, "Hortus Auriaci" 66 and 80; The Hague, National Archive, *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (*VOC*) *1602–1811*, Resolutions of the Lords XVII, inv. no. 28.

18 Heniger, "Hortus Malabaricus" 71–72; Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, *Huydecoper family records* inv. no. 60 letter-book: 15 December 1686 (Huydecoper to Van der Stel).

extensive diaries.[19] In these, although he mentions seeing the gardens, greenhouses, garden statues and beautiful oaks, he does not refer to any of the exotic plants. This is remarkable, as other diary entries show that plants did interest him. On visiting his friend Bleijswijck's garden, he mentions seeing 'de belles hyacintes, des sultanes, des Turquoises et autres espaces' – 'beautiful hyacinths, tulips, turquoises [?] and other species'.[20] It is obvious then that while Fagel's garden was open to a wide range of visitors, his magnificent plant collection could probably be seen by appointment or invitation only, suggesting its fame was spread by other means. And indeed, while Fagel's garden was neither set up as a study collection, nor for medicinal purposes, among those who managed to gain access to Fagel's rarities were Europe's leading botanists.

3 The Seventeenth-Century Garden Circuit: Spreading *Magnificentia*

Although Fagel's collection of exotic plants was probably the most significant one in the Dutch Republic, he was by no means the only collector of botanical rarities in the Republic of the 1670s and 1680s. Other gardens noted for their botanical collections were the silk merchant Philip de Flines's garden at Spaarnhout at Heemstede (acquired in 1676 and sold by his heirs in 1701), Simon de Beaumont's garden at The Hague (collection acquired before 1690), Magdalena Poulle's garden at Gunterstein along the River Vecht (she acquired the castle, that had been ruined by the French in 1672, in 1680), Agnes Block's Vijverhof estate along the Vecht (acquired as a farm in 1670 and subsequently transformed), and Hieronymus van Beverningk's garden at the castle of Oud-Teilingen near Warmond (acquired in 1676). Daniel Desmarets's garden in The Hague (acquired in 1676) and Hans Willem Bentinck's Zorgvliet (acquired in 1675) also housed botanical rarities, as did William III's garden at Honselaarsdijk.[21] These gardens, together with Fagel's Leeuwenhorst estate, the Leiden Hortus Botanicus and the Amsterdam Hortus Medicus (founded in 1682) formed what has been called a 'garden circuit'.[22]

In most publications, these private and public botanical gardens have been treated from the perspective of science, their owners being described as expert

19 The Hague, Royal Library MS 129 D 16; Hartog E. den, "Leeuwenhorst, een tuin van wereldformaat gezien door de ogen van Pieter Teding van Berkhout", *De zeventiende eeuw* 24, 2 (2008) 227–237.

20 Den Hartog, "Een tuin van wereldformaat" 227–237.

21 For botanical rarities in Desmarets' garden and at Zorgvliet, Wijnands, "Hortus Auriaci", 78–79.

22 Wijnands, "Hortus Auriaci" 74–75.

amateur botanists, which although true for some, does not hold for people like Fagel and Bentinck. What is more, most of the owners – being politicians, courtiers, and merchants – never published on botany, while their gardens served neither medical nor scientific purposes.[23] So why would these persons, in a country that had been ravaged by war only in 1672, and with a true peace still far off, collectively have taken to plant collecting? Of course, the possibilities were there, and there was the novelty of the new plants, but it is also important to realize that the owners of these botanical gardens knew one another, visited each other's gardens, exchanging plants, seeds and cuttings, and what is more, entertained contacts with and received visitors from all over Europe. There is also the question of timing. It can hardly have been a coincidence that Bentinck acquired Zorgvliet in 1675, and Fagel, De Flines, Van Beverningk and Desmarets all came by their estates in 1676.

The threat of war having by no means passed, turning the collective mind to gardening and the collecting of unique species of plants seems like a defiant statement, made to announce that the Republic would not only survive, but flourish and expand. The propagandistic nature of the enterprise is also apparent from the attention it got. Had these garden projects been mere private enterprises, intended for fun, relaxation and a personal quest for knowledge, how then would they have managed to attract attention from a very early stage on?

Only a few years after the gardens had been established, in 1684–1685, George London, former gardener of Bishop Henry Compton's garden at Fulham and founder of the Brompton Nurseries, went out of his way to visit gardens in Holland, making lists of plants, seeds and herbarium specimens that he had obtained at these gardens.[24] Paul Hermann (1646–1695), a German-born physician and botanist, who settled in the Netherlands in 1677, obtained a professorship at Leiden University in 1679 and became prefect of the Hortus Botanicus there in 1680, also kept records about the rarities to be seen in the various Dutch gardens.[25] His herbarium contains seeds and cuttings from the gardens of Fagel, De Beaumont, Van Beverningk and De Flines, that were collected there in the 1680s.[26] Jacob Breyne from Gdansk travelled to Holland in 1660,

23 Wijnands, "Hortus Auriaci" 62–63.

24 London, British Museum Natural History, Sloane herbarium vol. 91; Dixon Hunt – Jong de, "The Anglo-Dutch Garden" 282–283.

25 This so-called 'Manulae Hermanni' is now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Sherard MS 184, under 'Hortus Fagellianus').

26 The Hermann-herbarium was later owned by Herman Boerhaave, who added it to his own herbarium. Today the Boerhaave-herbarium is in the Natural History Museum in London where it forms a small part of the so-called Sloane herbarium. Dandy J.E., *The Sloane Herbarium: an annotated List of the Horti sicci composing it; with biographical*

1670 and 1688 in order to see the Dutch Republic's botanical rarities. Richard Richardson, an English botanist, came to Holland in 1688 for the express purpose of visiting the gardens. The French botanist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, professor at the Jardin des Plantes in Paris, also made the trip to Holland to see the botanical wonders on display there.[27] The very rapid fame of the Dutch gardens seems to imply that the botanists had either come on invitation or that the gardens were somehow being advertised.

That the gardens of the garden circuit served a propagandistic goal is also suggested by the fact that the visiting botanists were encouraged to write about what they had seen, to spread the (often illustrated) word.[28] Van Beverningk even acted as the patron of Paul Hermann, who at his behest was sent out to Ceylon by the VOC, where he inventoried the local flora. In 1680, Van Beverningk made sure Hermann became prefect of the Leiden Hortus Botanicus. Van Beverningk was also patron to the botanist Jacob Breyne.[29] Stimulated by Van Beverningk, Breyne wrote no fewer than three books on the botanical rarities encountered in Dutch gardens: *Exoticarum aliarumque minus cognitarum Plantarum centuria prima* (Danzig: 1678) and his *Prodromus Fasciuli Rariorum Plantarum, Primus and Secundus* (Danzig: 1680 and 1689). The latter books consist of two alphabetical lists of the plants on display in the gardens he had visited, one indexing those seen in 1670, the other those recorded in 1688. Each list gives the names and a description of the plants, and mentions where it was seen and whether Breyne procured seeds or cuttings. Paul Hermann's project of producing a similar work was cut short by his death in 1695. However, his descriptions of the plants to be found in the Dutch gardens was published posthumously in 1698 under the title *Paradisus Batavus*. This book describes many specimens from Fagel's collection, which had ceased to exist ten years before, and illustrates seven of these. In fact, Van Beverningk commissioned Cousijns to make several drawings of plants that were needed for the latter's publication [Fig. 11.3]. And so, the collection lived on.[30]

Details of the principal Contributors (London: 1958). Volumes 320, 321 and 322 contain a total of fourteen specimens from Fagel's garden, two of which are dated. One plant was picked in 1686; the other was given by Fagel in 1687; Sloane Herbarium vol. 320: 189, vol. 321: 49, 149, 170; vol. 322: 135, 140, 148, 174, 192, 194, 218 and 228.

27 Aa A.J. van der, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden* 6 (Haarlem: 1859) 19.

28 On this type of propaganda in the age of William III, Raaij van S. and Spies P., *In het gevolg van Willem III en Mary. Huizen en tuinen uit hun tijd* (Amsterdam: 1988) 74–78.

29 Fleischer A., "Passie voor planten. Het botanische netwerk van Hieronymus van Beverningh", in Gelder E. van (ed.), *Bloeiende kennis. Groene ontdekkingen in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: 2012) 74–84.

30 Fleischer, "Passie voor planten" 82.



FIGURE 11.3 Epidendron Curassavicum from Gaspar Fagel's garden at Leeuwenhorst, as shown in P. Hermann's *Paradisus Batavus* of 1698

Plants being perishable, the other owners of the botanical gardens also had their most exotic and rare species immortalized by artists. Simon de Beaumont had watercolours made of the plants in his collection, 27 of which are now in the Leiden National Herbarium.[31] Agnes Block had some twenty artists, such as Jan Moninckx, Maria Moninckx, Alida Withoos and Maria Sibylle Merian, produce images of the most remarkable specimens in her collection.[32]

As we have seen, the plants exhibited in Fagel's garden were rarities that originated in the newly-conquered Dutch colonies. At the time they were priceless, unique, wonderful and thus magnificent. Bringing together collections of rarities from (conquered) regions, be they plants or animals, was a well-established method of showing off one's dominion over these regions; the practice goes as far back as Ancient Egypt in the second century BC.[33] Undoubtedly, therefore, the display in the gardens of the garden circuit of these priceless, rare and exotic plants from the Dutch colonies was a very deliberate effort to bring home to visitors the extent of the overseas empire, the plants serving as 'pars pro toto' for the magnificence of the Dutch Republic. The idea was self-evidently to demonstrate that the Republic constituted a political and economic force to be reckoned with. Breyne's and Hermann's books did their part further to impart this message throughout the western world. The next question to answer is why plants were considered a suitable medium for this message?

4 Paradisus Batavus

In 1687, Agnes Block, who had managed to rear a pineapple fruit at Vijverhof, had a medal struck to commemorate her achievement. One side features an image of the Vijverhof garden, with the figure of Flora in the foreground, together with a cactus and a pineapple, as well as the inscription: 'FERT ARSQUE LABORQUE QUOD NATURA NEGAT' – 'Art and Labour will overcome where Nature Fails', while the other side portrays Agnes herself, surrounded by the

31 Gelder E. van, "Planten in kleur", in Gelder E. van (ed.), *Bloeiende kennis. Groene ontdekkingen in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: 2012) 94–95.

32 Wijnands, "Hortus Auriaci" 74; Dixon Hunt – Jong de, "The Anglo-Dutch Garden" 121.

33 Possibly the first ruler to use animals and plants in particular as exemplary for the regions he had conquered was pharaoh Thutmosis III (1479–1425 BC) who expanded the boundaries of Egypt to the north and the south and collected a great variety of rare animals and plants, which were engraved onto the wall of the festival hall he built in the precinct of Amun-Re in Karnak. Beaux N., *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III: plantes et animaux du « Jardin botanique » de Karnak*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 36 (Louvain: 1990) 38–46.

inscription: AGNETA. BLOK. FLORA. BATAVA.[34] In using the term Flora Batava, Agnes not only promoted her own, personal feat, but posited it as an achievement of Batavia, i.e., the Republic under stadholder William III. In Lukas Rotgans' 1698 epic poem on Wiliam III, *Wilhem de Derde*, the inhabitants of the Dutch Republic are repeatedly described as Batavians and supporters of the prince of Orange: 'O Vaderlanders, ô beroemde Batavieren, Zo dier verbonden aan d'Oranje veldbanieren' – 'Oh patriots, o famous Batavians, who are bound to Orange's war banners'.

Agnes Block's use of the term Flora Batava is echoed in Paul Hermann's book title *Paradisus Batavus*. Their mutual use of the term Batavus implies some sort of communal understanding or enterprise, again implying that the gardens did not just serve personal pleasure or status. Together, the gardens brought home the message that the Republic literally flourished under the new Orangist regime by being transformed into a *Paradisus Batavus*, a Dutch paradise. The reference to paradise was not merely idyllic, but referred to the idea that the Republic, under William of Orange's rule, was not only a godly state, but a state blessed by God. Whereas the Fall of Man and his Expulsion from Paradise had caused the dispersal of the plants of Eden across the globe, in the Dutch Republic, due to good rulership, this effect had been undone as here, in this one place, flora from every continent flourished once again, and paradise was recreated.[35]

5 Conclusion

From the above, it appears that the magnificence of Fagel's rare plant collection was not so much intended as a means to gain personal prestige and honour, but instead, that it served to promulgate the dignity of the United Provinces, and stage it as a Paradisus Batavus. Fagel's garden project, on which he spent his entire (large) fortune, thus fits the requirements posited by Aristotle for a work of magnificence, as, using the terminology of the latter's *Nichomachean Ethics*, Fagel's plant collection can be said to have been 'great and beautiful', as well as an excellent work involving 'magnitude' and 'great expenditure'. The contemplation of the rare and priceless plants in their fancy containers inspired 'admiration'. It was also an 'honourable' enterprise, as its object and ambition

34 Dixon Hunt – Jong de, "The Anglo-Dutch Garden" 280; Jong E. de, "Flora Batava. Agnes Block op haar buiten Vijverhof", *Kunstlicht* 14 (1984) 22–27.

35 On botanical gardens as gardens of Eden, see Prest J., *The Garden of Eden: The Botanic Garden and the Re-Creation of Paradise* (New Haven: 1981).

were undoubtedly 'public-spirited', even though access to the most valuable plants was restricted to a few chosen individuals, i.e., well-known botanists from all over Europe, with whom he shared seeds, cuttings and herbarium specimens. Interestingly, Aristotle explicitly praised 'the receiving of foreign guests and the sending of them on their way, and gifts and counter-gifts'. All this Fagel did to honour the state with the goal of enhancing the Republic's prestige in the world.

On Fagel's death in 1688, his heirs sold his collection of plants to William III, who had it brought to his palace at Honselaarsdijk.[36] After being crowned King of England on 11 April 1689, and at some time before 1690, the plants were transferred to William's palace at Hampton Court near London, where they, though much admired initially, dwindled away in less than four years.[37] What was once deemed magnificent had served its political purpose and therefore lost its allure. The gardens created in the Republic in the 1690s were of an entirely different nature than those of the 1670s and -80s, their patrons being the stadholder/king and his courtiers, and their layout increasingly reflecting the stadholder's new royal status. In 1680 Bentinck, William's, all-time favourite became, amongst other things, the keeper of William's parks and gardens. Scale and grandeur were now the fashion, with an obvious desire to emulate or even outdo the Versailles of Louis XIV.[38] The emphasis was on grand vistas and water-works, not on botanical rarities that, though unique and costly, were not always very impressive to look at. Clearly, the definition of *magnificentia* was subject to fashion. Where Fagel's enterprise had been very much concerned with the *res publica*, William was more interested in his personal magnificence. Sic transit gloria mundi.

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36 Florence, Bibliotheca Nazionale, MS. Pal. 6.B.B.8.5 (G.F. 182); Groen, "De Codex Regius Honselaerdicensis", 75–86. See also, cat. 288–390.

37 Den Hartog – Teune, "In horto Fageliano", 69–70.

38 Van Raaij – Spies, "*In het gevolg van Willem III en Mary*" 53–66.

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PART 4

Performance

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CHAPTER 12

Magnificence and Atticism in Seventeenth-Century Venice

Alessandro Metlica

Among the meanings that magnificence acquired in early modern Europe, the one referring specifically to the expenses incurred for festivals, spectacles, and court etiquette was quite common. However, this use of the word was not as straightforward as it may seem, for it depended a great deal on the context. By whom and for whom were these festivals organized? And what values were they supposed to convey? This essay intends to answer such questions by considering a peculiar case study: the Republic of Venice, in which magnificence was reshaped in accordance with the republican order and the complex rituality of the 'ceremonial city'.[1]

As is well known, a metamorphosis affected the representation of power in post-Renaissance Europe. Whereas previous political ceremonies also aimed to display the wealth of the organizer, from the late sixteenth century onwards the degree of performative luxury on show dramatically increased. Splendour became essential to stage the privileged status of a prince or a nobleman. Therefore, the virtue of magnificence – in the sense of both munificence and more properly *magnum facere* (to make it big) – came to be crucial for any seventeenth-century ruler, who was supposed to exhibit his authority through astonishing feasts and sumptuous rituals.[2] The new Baroque sensibility towards *magnum facere* is famously codified in the *Mémoires pour l'instruction du dauphin*, a series of considerations and aphorisms written between the 1660s and the 1670s by Louis XIV's secretaries, and attributed to the Sun King himself. According to the *Mémoires*, the 'society of pleasures' recently established in Versailles, though apparently 'redundant', is extremely useful in political terms.

1 See Fenlon I., *The Ceremonial City. History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven: 2007).

2 See the landmark volumes by Strong R., *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450–1650* (Berkeley: 1984) 22 and Maravall J.A., *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure* (Manchester: 1986) 186–196.

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> Cette société de plaisirs, qui donne aux personnes de la cour une honnête familiarité avec nous, les touche et les charme plus qu'on ne peut dire. Les peuples, d'un autre côté, se plaisent au spectacle [...] ; et à l'égard des étrangers, dans un État qu'ils voient florissant d'ailleurs et bien réglé, ce qui se consume en ces dépenses, qui peuvent passer pour superflues, fait sur eux une impression très avantageuse de magnificence, de puissance, de richesse et de grandeur.
>
> This society of pleasures, which gives the courtiers a decent familiarity with us, moves and captivates them more than meets the eye. Moreover, people enjoy the spectacle [...]. As for the foreigners, they see a state flourishing and well-regulated; so these expenses, which may seem redundant, make a very valuable impression, for they convey the idea of magnificence, power, wealth and grandeur.[3]

These lines are quite renowned, and they are normally interpreted as a sort of standard regarding seventeenth-century propaganda. However, as the same passage claims, not all European countries are in the habit of putting majesty on display. Indeed, 'il y a des nations où la majesté des rois consiste, pour une grande partie, à ne se point laisser voir' – 'there are nations where the majesty of kings consists, for the most part, in not letting themselves to be seen'.[4] Here the author is probably thinking of Spain, whose kings, from Philip II to Philip IV, had a more severe sense of royal dignity, and refused to allow the subjects 'l'accès libre et facile' – 'the free and easy access' to their own person.[5]

In the *Mémoires*, such distinctions are restricted to monarchies. We may wonder, however, if it is valid as well for early modern republican states like the Republic of Venice or the Dutch Republic.[6] Clearly, a republican body politic is an exception in many respects. A republic can neither assure people of a 'decent familiarity' with its body, nor hide it in some Escorial. The role played by magnificence is also different, since this virtue cannot be associated, as is customary in seventeenth-century Europe, with royal or imperial status. As Antoine Furetière's dictionary (1690) states, the adjective *magnifique* (magnificent) 'c'est la principale qualité des Princes' – 'is the princes' main quality', and usually denotes royal acts, as shown by the examples given (the joyous entry

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3 *Mémoires pour l'instruction du dauphin*, ed. P. Goubert (Paris: 1992) 134–135. All translations are mine, unless otherwise stated.

4 Ibidem, 134.

5 Ibidem.

6 For magnificence in the Dutch Republic, see Stijn Bussels' contribution to this volume.

of the king, the Egyptian pyramids).[7] Besides, it could legitimately be asked whether, in the early modern republican context, to make it big is as important as to make it common. What is the relationship between the generosity of one and the welfare of many? Can the tremendous sums of money squandered in ballets, tournaments, and pageants coexist with the republican values of truth and transparency?

Even if the answer is positive, the question, as my essay will illustrate, is far from being rhetorical. For instance, the concern for Atticism, which refers to simplicity and clarity in public speaking and, by extension, in public mores, stands out in both Venetian literature and politics. On the one hand, several writers support a terser model of eloquence than the Baroque *affettatione* (affectation). Works as diverse as didactic texts, rhetoric manuals, and anthologies of maxims credited to ancient Venetian senators condemn luxury in style as a menace to republican ideals, and claim that a good citizen should write and talk in the plainest way.[8] On the other hand, in Venice the legislation that attempted to regulate consumption was extremely articulate. A myriad of sumptuary laws was proposed, discussed, approved, or rejected between 1562, when the responsible magistracy (Magistrato alle pompe) was reformed and given more decision-making autonomy, and the fall of the Republic in 1796. These measures, though largely ineffective, reached maximum frequency between 1635 and 1693.[9]

Atticism plays a key role in the so-called myth of Venice.[10] Many intellectuals and travellers praise Venetian institutions precisely because they

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7 Furetière Antoine, *Dictionaire universel, contenant generalement tous les mots françois tant vieux que modernes, et les termes de toutes les sciences et des arts*, 3 vols. (Haye – Rotterdam, Arnout et Reinier Leers: 1690), vol. 1, 512. Here is the original entry: '*magnifique*, adj. m. et fem. et subst. Celuy qui est splendide, somptueux, qui se plaist à faire depense en choses honnes. C'est la principale qualité des Princes, d'estre magnifiques'.

8 Cf. Frangipane Cornelio, *Del parlar senatorio, abbellito, distinto, dichiarato in alcune parti principali, e ridotto in metodo e alla pratica, e dedicato alla gioventù della nobiltà veneta* (Venice, Giovan Battista Ciotti: 1619) and Fiorelli Giacomo, *Detti e fatti memorabili del Senato e patritii veneti* (Venice, Combi e La Noù: 1672). On these texts, see De Vivo F., *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: 2007) 21–28.

9 See Bistort G., *Il magistrato alle pompe nella Republica di Venezia. Studio storico* (Venice: 1912) 66–67.

10 On this much-debated topic, see Crouzet-Pavan E., *Venise triomphante: les horizons d'un mythe* (Paris: 1999) and Martin J. – Romano D. (eds.), *Venice reconsidered. The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797* (Baltimore – London: 2002). For an up-to-date bibliography, see Venturelli P., "Paolo Paruta e il mito di Venezia. Considerazioni sull'*Oratione funebre* e su *Della perfettione della vita politica*", in Felice D. (ed.), *Studi di Storia della Filosofia. Sibi suis amicisque* (Bologna: 2013) 133–174.

worked silently, secretly, and unanimously, without allowing the worship of a single magistrate or magistracy to undermine the over-all image of the Serenissima. The engravings representing the Maggior Consiglio, in which hundreds of black-dressed patricians vote with neither a word nor a needless gesture, were very popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[11] In the *Commonwealth of Oceana*, James Harrington draws on this very myth to imagine the utopic organisation of post-revolutionary England.[12] Therefore, in the eyes of many of the 'foreigners' that Louis XIV aimed to impress with 'magnificence' and 'grandeur', Venice's constitutional order had to be extolled for quite the opposite reason. According to a famous definition by John Pocock, they see in the Serenissima a successful model of 'mechanized virtue', i.e., a legislative mechanism forcing citizens to act virtuously and to pursue the common good rather than their own interest.[13]

Nevertheless, there were also seventeenth-century travellers who were instead struck by the Venetian 'society of pleasures'. In the pages of many ambassadors stationed in Venice, for instance, the city seems to be as lavish as Versailles. A case in point is Francesco Pannocchieschi d'Elci, the nephew of the then papal nuncio in Venice (1647–1652) Scipione. Francesco (and not Scipione, as has been mistakenly stated) wrote a *Relazione delle cose di Venezia* (*Report about Venice*) depicting the customs and habits of the Republic, as well as its fervent political life.[14] Francesco, who was still quite young (he was born in 1625 or in 1626), travelled to Venice and later to Vienna in the wake of Scipione, in whose footsteps he followed until he succeeded him as Archbishop of Pisa (1663). Unlike the uncle, however, the nephew had literary ambitions, which

11 Cf. Franco Girolamo, *Il gran Conseglio dell'eccelsa Republica Venetiana, nel quale si riducono i nobili col Serenissimo Principe a creare magistrati, di bellissime pitture ornato* (ca. 1580–1620). Engraving, 20.0 × 24.6 cm. British Museum, Prints & Drawings (museum number 1871,1209.1389).

12 Cf. *The Use and Manner of the Ballot* (1660). Engraving, 26.5 × 18.9 cm, 1660. For the description of the voting procedure, cf. Harrington James, *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (London, Daniel Pakeman: 1656) 74–80. British Museum, Prints & Drawings (museum number 1862,0208.17).

13 See Pocock J.G.A., *The Machiavellian Moment. Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: 1975) 284–285 and Conti V., "The Mechanisation of Virtue: Republican Rituals in Italian Political Thought in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in Gelderen M. – Skinner Q. (eds.), *Republicanism: a shared European Heritage*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: 2002), vol. 2, 73–84.

14 Pannocchieschi D'Elci Francesco, "Relazione sulle cose di Venezia", in Molmenti P. (ed.), *Curiosità di storia veneziana* (Bologna: 1919) 310–358. The *Relazione* is attributed to Scipione by Casini M., "Some Thoughts on the Social and Political Culture of Baroque Venice", in Symcox G. – Ruiz T. – Piterberg G. (eds.), *Braudel Revisited. The Mediterranean World 1600–1800* (Toronto: 2010) 177–206, at 204.

he demonstrated both in Venice and in Vienna by writing, though not publishing, a couple of *memoranda* halfway between geographical account and autobiography.[15]

The *Relazione* portrays Venice's luxurious entertainments: the new-born public opera, the thrill of gambling in the *ridotti* (private rooms), and the public pageants, to which the first section of the text is devoted.

> Sopra 'l tutto quello che più mi faceva restare attonito era il vedere come si vivesse in quel tempo in Venetia; come piena sempre di ricchezze e di lussi se ne stesse quella Città involta per lo più in continue feste sì publiche come private, che non solamente pareva disconvenissero ad un paese che haveva all'hora la guerra, ma che ad ogn'altro più quieto etiandio e più pacifico havrebbero sembrato superflue. […] Et veramente indicibile era lo sfoggio d'ogni più strana et più profusa maniera di vivere, et sopra 'l tutto molto piena et opulenta sempre quella Città.

> What amazed me the most was the way they lived in Venice at that time; how the city was always full of wealth and luxuries, and surrounded by endless ceremonies, both public and private. These festivals appeared inappropriate in a country at war, but they would have been redundant even in a more pacific state. […] Indeed, one could hardly describe the displays of such odd and squandered lifestyles, and above all how the city was always crowded and opulent.[16]

Venice was at war with the Ottoman Empire throughout the second half of the seventeenth century. In 1645, the Ottomans attacked Venice's largest and richest overseas possession: the island of Crete, or Candia, as the Venetians called it. Refusing to lose its colony, the Republic engaged in an exhausting war, by sea and by land. Finally, after twenty-four years of conflict that severely damaged the Venetian economy, the then *capitano generale da mar* and later doge Francesco Morosini (1619–1694) negotiated surrender in 1669. As a witness to these events, Pannocchieschi cannot but express his admiration for the unwavering wealth of the Serenissima, and in particular for the magnificent festivals that stud the Venetian calendar despite the military losses. Furthermore, in

15 Francesco also wrote some historical observations (*Osservazioni historiche*) concerning his stay in Vienna between 1652 and 1658. I have studied one of the manuscript copies of the text (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5632) in Metlica A., "Il Parnasso dell'Istro. Eugenio di San Giuseppe, Caramuel y Lobkowitz e la prima accademia italiana di Vienna (1655–1657)", *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 55 (2013) 231–270.

16 Pannocchieschi, *Relazione sulle cose di Venezia* 313.

his opinion such displays of abundance and refinement have a well-defined political purpose.

> Per sì fatte funtioni io viddi la Città quasi sempre in continuo trattenimento per lo spatio di più anni; né per lunghezza di guerre, né per qualunque altro disastro ch'ella soffrisse, dissimile già mai la riconobbi dall'essere suo di prima: anzi et per le estraordinarie feste suddette et per le solite farvisi ordinariamente ogni anno, che pure sono molte, più invincibile e potente sempre mi parve.

> Because of these celebrations, for several years I saw the city in a state of almost constant reveling; and neither the long wars, nor any other disaster made Venice change from this first impression. Conversely, because of both the extraordinary festivals that I mentioned above and the ordinary ones, which are performed every year and are numerous, too, the city always seemed to me even more invincible and powerful.[17]

As Pannocchieschi implicitly acknowledges, early modern festivals are never neutral. They have a ritualistic dimension, but they also act as propaganda tools. In this case, the *estraordinarie feste* are intended to influence the opinion of the non-Venetian living in the city, by reversing the image of a Republic placed in difficulty by the Turks' advance.

Later in his text, Pannocchieschi offers a summary of many of these festivals. He dwells in detail on the ordinary ones: the so-called *guerre dei pugni* (literally, wars of the fists), the religious processions, the regattas, and finally the Sensa (Feast of the Ascension).[18] When he considers this Venetian ceremony, he describes the barge procession led by the Bucintoro as it leaves St. Mark's square, and he commends the ritual accomplished by the doge, who symbolically marries the sea by dropping a gold ring in it.[19] It is revealing, however, that among all these festivals 'la più rilevante di tutte' – 'the most important one' is deemed to be an event that, unlike the Sensa, is largely neglected in the literature: the entry of the procurators of St. Mark's.[20] The second part of my essay is devoted to this little-known ceremony, which is a clear example of how, over

17 Ibidem, 316.

18 Ibidem, 316–320.

19 See the general overview provided by Korsch E., "Renaissance Venice and the Sacred-Political Connotations of Waterborne Pageants", in Shewring M. – Briggs L. (eds.), *Waterborne Pageants and Festivities in the Renaissance* (Farnham: 2013) 79–97.

20 Pannocchieschi, *Relazione sulle cose di Venezia* 314–316.

the seventeenth century, the republican ritual expands to attain magnificence, despite the counterforce exerted by Venetian Atticism.

The procurators were top-ranked magistrates in charge of the church, treasury, and legacies of St. Mark's basilica.[21] After that of doge, the procuratorship was the most prestigious office in the Republic, and it was a lifetime one. The patricians appointed procurators also became *pregadi* (senators) for life, and they did not need to be re-elected annually, which entailed remarkable political advantages. Besides, the position was an almost mandatory step to access the *dogado*. According to Giustiniano Martinioni, the editor of an up-to-date version of Francesco Sansovino's classic, *Venetia città nobilissima e singolare* (*Venice, most noble and peculiar city*), before 1660 no less than forty doges were elected from among the procurators of St. Mark's.[22] As of 1442, a fixed number of nine procurators was in charge, a new election being held exclusively upon the death of one of them. Nevertheless, since at least 1516, additional positions were for sale, and by paying an enormous amount of money (about twenty thousand ducats) the office of procurator could also be obtained.[23]

It should be pointed out that in Venetian legislation the sale of the procuratorship was not a regular measure, since it was taken only in exceptional circumstances to finance the state treasury. In the years 1645–1669, however, the rising costs of the war of Candia persuaded the Senate to adopt it on several occasions, until the number of the procurators exceeded forty.[24] This rekindled the debate regarding patricians' private means and their relationship with public service, which raged in Venice throughout the Seicento, giving voice to the infighting between rich and poor noblemen.[25] The clash between these two parties, nominally equal in rights and power, but actually separated by the opportunities granted by private fortune, sheds light on the problematic nature of the notion of magnificence in the republican context, as I will discuss in my conclusion.

21 See Zorzi A., *La Repubblica del Leone. Storia di Venezia* (Milan: 1979) 62. A more circumstantial inquiry about the origins of the procuratorship is Mueller R.C., "The Procurators of san Marco in the 13th and 14th Centuries: A Study of the Office as a Financial and Trust Institution", *Studi veneziani* 13 (1971) 105–220.

22 Cf. Sansovino Francesco – Martinioni Giustiniano, *Venetia città nobilissima e singolare, descritta in XIIII libri.* [...] *Con aggiunta di tutte le cose notabili della stessa città fatte e occorse dall'anno 1580 sino al presente 1663* (Venice, Steffano Curti: 1663) 299–300.

23 See Muir E., *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: 1981) 20.

24 Cf. Valier Andrea, *Historia della guerra di Candia* (Venice, Paolo Baglioni: 1679) 48–49. See also Candiani G., "Conflitti di intenti e di ragioni politiche, di ambizioni e di interessi nel patriziato veneto durante la guerra di Candia", *Studi veneziani* 36 (1998) 145–275, at 169.

25 Cozzi G., *Venezia barocca. Conflitti di uomini e idee nella crisi del Seicento veneziano* (Venice: 1995).

Approximately in the same period, both the symbolical value and the actual performance of the procurators' election are transformed. Indeed, in the years in which Pannocchieschi attended the 'publica et maestosa entrata che in tale occasione solesi fare' – 'the public and majestic entry that they use to do on the occasion', the ritual underwent a sea-change.[26] Moreover, new-fangled publications illustrating and celebrating the pageant, and drawing, from a literary point of view, on the genre of the festival book, hit the Venetian market, which confirmed the novel prestige conferred on the procuratorship.[27]

Beginning in the 1640s, when a procurator was elected an extremely lavish procession took place, consisting of up to five or six hundred people and including servants and foreigners, musicians and soldiers, captains and knights from the *Terraferma* (mainland), as well as the other procurators and a large part of the Senate. Arranged in pairs, the cortège marched past the Mercerie (i.e., the streets where the most refined shops in Venice were), and paraded from the Rialto to St. Mark's Square. More precisely, the fixed itinerary proceeded from the church of St. Salvador to St. Mark's basilica, where two masses were celebrated. The former, at St. Salvador, allowed the crowd to gather; the latter, at St. Mark, was celebrated after the procession and right before the newly elected procurator received his formal investiture in the ducal palace, in the presence of the doge.

Ornament and luxury were essential for the proper functioning of the procession. According to Cristoforo Ivanovich (1620–1688), the author of a commendatory description of the entry of Girolamo Basadonna (1622–1697) in 1682, on the occasion the campo of St. Salvador was filled with priceless tapestries, and the surrounding streets and alleys, as well as the Rialto Bridge, were papered with festoons and decorations.[28] Along the path taken by the cortège were ephemeral arches and architectures bearing the coat-of-arms of the Basadonna family. Paintings hung from the walls, and Persian drapes from

26 Pannocchieschi, *Relazione sulle cose di Venezia* 314.

27 To my knowledge, the first festival book dedicated to the entry of a procurator of St. Mark's is Vincenti Domenico, *Gli apparati veneti, overo le feste fatte nell'elezione in procuratore dell'illustrissimo et eccellentissimo signor Giovanni da Pesaro cavalier* (Venice, Pietro Miloco: 1641). Many similar texts are published later, in the 1680s, like the very interesting account, which has been completely neglected so far, by Mariani Michelangelo, *L'ingresso trionfale dell'illustrissimo et eccellentissimo signor Leonardo Donato procurator meritatissimo di San Marco* (Venice, Pietro d'Orlandi: 1686).

28 Ivanovich Cristoforo, *Minerva al tavolino. Lettere diverse di proposta e risposta a varii personaggi, sparse d'alcuni componimenti in prosa e in verso. Concernenti per lo più alle vittorie della Lega contro il Turco sino questo anno. Parte seconda* (Venice, Nicolò Pezzana: 1688) 118–130, at 121–122.

the windows.[29] The shops on the Mercerie played a main role too, as the owners put their most polished items on display to honour the procurator. Gems, pearls, and mirrors were exhibited; rare feathers, laces, and precious fabrics were arranged to compose either the eagle of Basadonna's crest, or allegorical figures. Sumptuous laceworks, decorated in gold and silver and bearing the procurator's name, were placed next to his portraits, which many shops had in the window.[30]

What is most striking in this encomiastic apparatus, especially in the light of the conservatism of Venetian civic ritual, is the lack of tradition. Even at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the entry of the procurators of St. Mark's was much more modest, as stated by another revised edition of Sansovino's *Venetia* published by Giovanni Stringa in 1604. Three hundred people at most attended the procession; the itinerary was not only sensibly shorter, but also radically different, because the parade started from the church of St. Moisè instead of from St. Salvador, and it did not include the Mercerie.[31] Clearly, at that time neither the profusion of ephemeral decorations nor the exhibition of luxurious goods were deemed mandatory. As proof of this, previous sources, such as the original Sansovino's book (1581) or the treatise that Fulgenzio Manfredi devotes specifically to the procuratorship of St. Mark's (1602), fail to address the ceremonial procession, as if it were a marginal issue compared to the historical origins, the features and the benefits of the office, which they illustrate in detail.[32]

The expansion of the ritual of the entry in the central decades of the seventeenth century is connected with the new idea of magnificence that I have discussed. The massive expenditure and the lavish displays on the Mercerie aimed to project the exceptional status of the few families inside the aristocracy who were able to attain the higher levels of the ducal institutions. Since this was allowed precisely because of the wealth of these families, magnificence proved to be essential for a successful political career. According to Michele Foscarini (1632–1692), the official historian of the Serenissima for the years 1669–1690, the lack of magnificence was the reason behind Giovanni Sagredo's tumultuous loss in the 1676 elections. When he was about to be appointed

29 Ibidem, 121.

30 Ibidem, 123–126.

31 Cf. Sansovino Francesco – Stringa Giovanni, *Venetia città nobilissima e singolare, descritta già in XIIII libri* […] *et hora con molta diligenza corretta, emendata e più d'un terzo di cose nuove ampliata* (Venice, Altobello Salicato: 1604) 211r–213r.

32 Cf. Sansovino Francesco, *Venetia città nobilissima e singolare, descritta in XIIII libri* (Venice, Giacomo Sansovino: 1581) 108r and Manfredi Fulgenzio, *Degnità procuratoria di San Marco di Venetia* (Venice, Domenico Nicolini: 1602) 11–13.

doge, Sagredo (1632–1692) was fiercely contested by the mob, 'appresso il quale era già entrato in concetto d'avaritia, perché nella sua assuntione alla dignità di procuratore di San Marco trascurò gl'atti di generosità soliti a rallegrar la plebe' – 'he was reputed for his avarice, because during his entry as procurator of St. Mark's he neglected the generous acts that people use to enjoy so much'.[33] Although the situation was most likely a little more complicated, because the mob was incited by Sagredo's political opponents, Foscarini's *Historia* witnesses the importance attached to the 'generosità' – 'generosity' that high-class patricians, as the procurators, had to demonstrate.

Something similar can be said for the festival books magnifying the entry, which became frequent only in the 1640s, after the ritual was expanded. Of course, these publications should not be considered an exact report of the events. Their language and message outline an idealised version of the performance, built according to the *topoi* of exaggeration, intensification, and eulogy that are a staple of the genre. Nevertheless, these accounts follow the same propaganda strands of the entry itself, with the aim of re-presenting (in the sense of presenting again, and even re-creating) the performative act of the ritual.[34] Throughout the eighteenth century, a mass of poems and orations were published in honour of the procurators of St. Mark's. However, this production focuses on the patron's figure; the ceremonial entry may be remembered, but it does not constitute the crux of the matter. In this respect, unlike later encomiastic literature, the seventeenth-century festival book is firmly rooted in early modern culture. Through its pages, a 'paper entry' is staged, in order to spread and to reinforce the significance of the original representation.[35]

In the account he gives of Basadonna's entry, for example, Ivanovich employs the rhetorical resources of the festival book genre (i.e., figures of speech such as ineffability and *recusatio*) to underscore the *generosità* of the procurator.

> Non entro nella generosità di questa Eccellenza, che subito seguita la di lui elezione, in argomento di sua beneficenza, fece dispensare denaro, pane, vino profusamente a' poveri e a' traghetti della città, perché questi è pregio innato della Casa Basadonna.

33 Cf. Foscarini Michele, *Historia della Republica veneta* (Venice, Combi e La Noù: 1696) 83.

34 See Bolduc B., *La Fête imprimée. Spectacles et cérémonies politiques (1549–1662)* (Paris: 2016) 9–40.

35 For such terminology, see Bolduc B., "Fêtes on Paper. Graphic Representations of Louis XIV's Festivals", *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 76 (2005) 211–241.

> I will not talk of the generosity of his Excellency, who immediately after his election, as proof of his charity, distributed plenty of money, bread, and wine to the poor and the ferrymen of the city, because such generosity is an inborn talent of the House Basadonna.[36]

What may seem commonplace is indeed a Leitmotif structuring of the whole text. In fact, Ivanovich does talk of Basadonna's generosity, and he hardly talks of anything else. In doing so, he follows a narrative, which implies, as is customary in early modern entrances, a more comprehensive dialogue between the procurator, the patriciate and the city.[37] This dialogue appears to pivot on magnificence, for this concept, despite being mentioned only once in the text, is key to defining the balance between private and public virtue. In this respect, Ivanovich does not follow the standard definition by Aristotle, which describes magnificence as an individual quality; he rather gives Basadonna's personal display of power a new significance, which is elaborated in accordance with Venice's civic ethics and republican ideology.

Let us examine how the festival book develops this reasoning. Less than a week before Basadonna, Ivanovich continues, another procurator, Marco Ruzzini, made his entry. The décor set up for the latter was so splendid that it required four days to be dismantled, leaving the former with just one night to stage his own apparatus. Whereas 'i meno pratici della generosità connaturale di questa nobilissima Casa' – 'those who were less familiar with the generosity innate in this most noble House' were ready to bet that Basadonna would have made a modest entry to avoid confrontation, the ones who knew 'la natura prodiga, che mostrano col decoro dell'azioni publiche i Genii nobili' – 'the prodigal nature, which noble minds reveal through the decorum of the public actions' were expecting 'una pompa convenevole' – 'an appropriate pomp'. As one can easily imagine, overnight the Mercerie was completely transformed, and the pageant far exceeded any expectations.[38]

The idea of 'prodigality' as a positive value, assuring the 'decorum of the public actions', allows Ivanovich to articulate the concept of magnificence in a way that fits perfectly into the Venetian context. According to his account, by glorifying the newly elected procurator with their most lavish merchandise

36 Ivanovich, *Minerva al tavolino* 120.

37 See Mulryne J.R., "Introduction: Ceremony and the Iconography of Power", in Mulryne J.R – Aliverti M.I. – Testaverde A.M. (eds.), *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: the Iconography of Power* (Burlington: 2015) 1–15.

38 Ivanovich, *Minerva al tavolino* 120–121.

the sellers on the Mercerie not only 'made sure to look sumptuous', but also 'honoured their own magnificence'.

> A gara erano esposte filate o intessute nell'oro le sete, istoriate dall'ago le drapperie, o pur d'orientali lavori industriosamente conteste. Basta concluder, che dove in simili congiunture ogni mercante procura di comparire sontuoso, questa volta ogn'uno ha singolarizato la propria magnificenza, dirizzando le rimonstranze dispendiose del lavoro o alla persona di sua Eccellenza, o allo stemma gentilizio.
>
> Silks spun in or woven with gold and fabrics decorated by the needle or braided industriously with oriental works were exposed, and competed among themselves. On such occasions, every merchant makes sure to look sumptuous; this time, however, it suffices to conclude that everyone honoured his own magnificence by addressing the expensive tokens of esteem of his profession either to his Excellency, or to his coat-of-arms.[39]

A sumptuary law approved by the Maggior Consiglio on 24 June 1683, a few months after and probably because of Basadonna's entry, provides us with the true meaning of this passage. From this document, concerning specifically the entry of the procurators, we learn that the Magistrato alle pompe intended to regulate the excessive décors set up between the Rialto and St. Mark's, namely by forbidding the *regali* (presents) that the newly elected procurator used to offer to the shop owners.[40] There is no doubt that the merchants were magnificent! Since they were financed by the procurator, the goods they exhibited during the procession were actually part of his display of wealth.

The mix-up regarding private richness and public decorum, which may both be labelled as magnificence, did not belong to the pageant traditions of the Serenissima. Indeed, it should be noted that Venetian ceremonial life was outstandingly rich, but also very strict and codified. Solemn masses, water parades, and ritual processions did not offer any chance to a single nobleman to stand out, and even the doge was allowed to extol his family only in more private and far less important occasions, such as the baptism of his nephews.[41] Hence, the entry of the procurators of St. Mark's was in many ways

39 Ibidem, 122–123.

40 ASVE, Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni, Registro 42, cc. 260r–261r. See also Bistort, *Il magistrato alle pompe* 267.

41 See Casini M., "Cerimoniali", in *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, 12 vols. (Rome: 1991–2002), vol. 7, Benzoni G. – Cozzi G. (eds.), *La Venezia barocca* (1997) 107–160, at 119.

an exception, which would have been unthinkable in the fifteenth or in the sixteenth century. Even in the second half of the seventeenth century, such a mix-up did not fail to alert the Republican institutions, as the 1683 decree testifies. At that point, however, the process had become unstoppable. It has been argued, although the evidence on this point is unclear, that as of 1692 a costly licence sold by the Senate permitted the procurator to celebrate regardless of how he spent his money.[42]

Among the high-ranked patricians, who were fully aware of this escalation towards lavishness, there were many who continued to express support for the ideology of republican Atticism. For instance, the ambassador and politician Battista Nani (1616–1678), one of the most cultivated and powerful men in Venice, highly commends another sumptuary law, approved in 1653. In the chapter of his *Historia* (1679) that reports and discusses such decree, Nani describes luxury as 'un morbo ad ogni Stato maligno, e in particolare alle Republiche, delle quali la modestia è la reggia e l'ugualità è custodia' – 'a disease affecting every state, and the republics in particular, which have modesty for palace and equality for custody'.[43] Moreover, he bitterly concludes that any law against this state of things proves to be ineffective, because men are used to confusing 'luxury' with 'magnificence': 'apparendo il lusso agli occhi degli uomini con certa benché falsa magnificenza, passa in ammiratione il vitio, in scherzo la colpa, in odio il castigo' – 'since luxury, in the eyes of men, possesses an unquestionable though untrue magnificence, vice becomes admiration, fault becomes pleasantry, and any punishment becomes hateful'.[44] Therefore, according to Nani, the luxury flaunted by one is often mistaken for the magnificence intended for many. This is not an 'appropriate pomp', as Ivanovich states, but rather an 'untrue magnificence', which cannot be of service to 'the decorum of the public actions', because it is instead a 'disease' that affects the republican body.

Clearly, we are dealing with two very different ideas of magnificence. In seventeenth-century Venice these ideas contended with each other, and they inspired a wide-ranging debate that took place both on the literary and on the political level, as shown by the texts and the decrees mentioned in the essay. However, the myth of Atticist Venice, which many authors nurtured throughout the Renaissance, was indubitably waning. Another myth was on the rise: the 'Settecento veneziano', where pageants swelled and carnivals never

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42 See Casini, "Some Thoughts" 194.

43 Nani Battista, *Historia della Republica veneta. Parte seconda* (Venice: Combi e La Noù: 1679) 372.

44 Ibidem, 375.

ended. At that time, foreigners like Francesco Pannocchieschi could still be amazed by the endless ceremonies held in the city; but writers did not feel the need of justifying such displays of wealth, as did Ivanovich, by appealing to the virtue of magnificence.

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Sansovino Francesco – Martinioni Giustiniano, *Venetia città nobilissima e singolare, descritta in XIIII libri.* [...] *Con aggiunta di tutte le cose notabili della stessa città fatte e occorse dall'anno 1580 sino al presente 1663* (Venice, Steffano Curti: 1663).

Vincenti Domenico, *Gli apparati veneti, overo le feste fatte nell'elezione in procuratore dell'illustrissimo et eccellentissimo signor Giovanni da Pesaro cavalier* (Venice, Pietro Miloco: 1641).

CHAPTER 13

Magnificence and Regality in Milanese Celebratory Sets: The Birth of Balthasar Charles and Exequies in the Epoch of Philip IV

Alessandra Mignatti

Dynastic celebrations of Ancient Regime monarchies had as one of their most crucial goals the aim of re-presenting, making 'present', alive, and recognisable the greatness of royal figures, with all their virtues, including magnificence. Indeed, the power of the sovereign had to be 're-presented' in all its greatness, in all its aspects, so as to be recognised as such. These celebrations played an important political role and were occasions to promote social cohesion and consensus.[1] The sovereign manifested his magnificence through such celebrations, and in particular in those celebrations which commemorated significant dynastic events. Magnificent celebrations rendered the magnificence of the sovereign immediate and concrete. The analysis of such celebrations might therefore be useful in a study of magnificence through time, because they are like its mirror: they are its representation.

This essay focuses on events in Milan, which might offer us a special portrait for a magnificence manifested in the absence of royal figures: it was therefore all the more important to celebrate the royal figure, to render him 'present' to the eyes of his subjects. The period we have chosen to consider is the heart of the seventeenth century, with celebrations in which magnificence is particularly emphasised. We will first consider the festival for the birth of Balthasar Charles, Prince of Asturias (1629–1646), organised in Milan at a moment of great economic and social crisis, a context in which the large costs that magnificence entails seem inappropriate. Our attention, however, is focused above all on funerals, because these not only organise and celebrate the memory of the personality and of the actions of the sovereign, but they also celebrate the very

1 Studies on festival have often underlined their political aspect. See Cruciani F., *Il Teatro del Campidoglio e le feste romane del 1513* (Milano: 1968); *Teatro nel Rinascimento. Roma 1450–1550* (Roma: 1983); Fagiolo M. – Carandini S. (eds.), *L'effimero barocco. Strutture della festa nella Roma del '600* (Roma: 1977–1978); Mitchell B., *The majesty of the State: triumphal progresses of foreign sovereigns in Renaissance Italy, 1494–1600* (Florence: 1986); Strong R., *Art and power: Renaissance festivals 1450–1650* (Woodbridge: 1984); Zorzi L., *Il teatro e la città. Saggi sulla scena italiana* (Turin: 1977).

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image of regality and of its virtues. We will consider certain funeral decorations which celebrated the members of the family of Philip IV (1605–1665) in Milan, a king who made magnificence into one of the distinctive characteristics of his reign: the funeral sets for the exequies of Elisabeth of France (1602–1644) and of Philip IV himself; we will then mention by way of comparison the exequies for his son Charles II (1661–1700), toward the end of the dynasty.

This essay shows how magnificence was connected in a certain way to the conception of regality, how magnificence was visibly expressed, what actions and behaviours defined the magnificence of the sovereign, how it was defined, and what effects it wished to produce. It is also possible to see how the city of Milan itself celebrated its own magnificence in the organisation of grandiose celebratory sets.

In Milan the celebration and its sets were the result of an intertwining of competencies and directives. They were ordered by the court, but it was the local authorities who took on the responsibility for their organisation, at the request of the governor himself, to whom the account, which was completed after the fact, was explicitly dedicated. The archbishop decided for masses, processions, devotional practices and the ringing of the bells. The local authorities in turn delegated duties to architects and various artists but entrusted to Jesuit fathers the task of producing and coordinating the entire rhetorical programme of the event's set. These sets were therefore the result of various interests and sensibilities. Jesuit culture surely played a large role in producing it, above all in the choice of images, events and inscriptions that were meant to strike a cultivated audience and make them reflect, but which were also meant to do the same for the common citizens who entered the church, who had gleaned some rudiments of rhetorical language from the images in the Schools of Catholic Doctrine.[2] In the literature of these events it should also be recalled that Milan in the 1600s, which we are here examining, was still deeply

2 On the Jesuit pedagogical culture in Milan, see Zanlonghi G., *Teatri di formazione. Actio, parola e immagine nella scena gesuitica del Sei-Settecento a Milano* (Milan: 2002). For the pedagogical practices of the local Schools of Catholic Doctrine: Bianchi A., "Le scuole della dottrina cristiana: linguaggio e strumenti per una azione educativa di 'massa'", in Buzzi F. – Zardin D. (eds.), *Carlo Borromeo e l'opera della 'grande riforma'. Cultura, religione e arti nella Milano del pieno Cinquecento* (Cinisello Balsamo: 1997) 145–158; Marchesi F., "Le scuole della dottrina cristiana: strumenti e metodi", *Studia Borromaica*, 17 (2003) 219–245; Barbieri F., "Teatro e formazione nelle scuole della dottrina cristiana", in Barbieri F. – Carpani R. – Mignatti A. (eds.), *Festa, rito e teatro nella « gran città di Milano » nel Settecento*, exh. cat., Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Studia Borromaica 24 (2010) 1004–1006.

influenced by the teaching of St. Charles Borromeo (1538–1584), which hinged on the quest for spirituality, for piety, for charity.[3]

Our study is based not only on the literature and archival documents, but also on accounts and iconographic sources, in the awareness, however, that these aim to construct an illustrious memory of celebrated events and personages, which includes their magnificence: these sources are of markedly encomiastic tones, but they themselves are a testimony to the necessity of making what they narrate appear magnificent.

1 The Birth of the Sun: Sets for the Birth of Balthasar Charles, Prince of Asturias

Magnificence and splendour were never lacking in the Milanese celebrations of Philip IV's family members, even at times of social and economic crisis during the seventeenth century. Not even the first signs of the plague could hinder the grand 1630 celebrations for the birth of Balthasar Charles of Habsburg, first-born of Philip IV. This event can give us an idea of the importance of festive celebrations, both for the powerful and for commoners, and the role that the magnificence of the sets played in representing the image of the sovereign's magnificence.

In February 1630 Milan was emerging from a famine that had lasted more than two years: all around and inside the city cases of plague had been reported. Nevertheless, despite the crisis and the reported risk of infection, many people went to Piazza Duomo to see a great pyrotechnic machine that celebrated the August birth in vivid display. Nowadays we would consider it improper to spend substantial amounts of money on a recreational event in a time of crisis. However, understanding the meaning of that expenditure of energies, be they financial, operative, intellectual, or creative, makes us appreciate the value that magnificence assumed in representing regality, and how much it could strengthen the consensus surrounding the same.

The Infante was born in October 1629, but confirmation of the news came in November.[4] The Consiglio Generale dei Sessanta Decurioni, the ad-

3 On the teaching of St. Charles Borromeo, see the recent studies of Zardin D., *Carlo Borromeo. Cultura, santità, governo* (Milan: 2010); Idem, "From Carlo to Federico Borromeo: at the origins of a new 'ambrosian' identity", in Zardin D. (ed.), *The Milan's heart. Identity and history of a European metropolis* (Milan: 2019) 95–102.

4 Philip IV issued a pardon for the whole state of Milan. The documents concerning all the regulations, payments etc. connected to the birth of Prince Balthasar can be found in Archivio di Stato di Milano (from now on ASMi), *Atti di Governo, Potenze sovrane post 1535*, 8.

ministrative body of the city of Milan, appointed delegates for the organisation of the *allegrezze* (amenities). The rhetorical programme of the celebratory set was entrusted to Emanuele Tesauro (1592–1675), a very fine literatus, dramaturge, historian, student of rhetoric, Jesuit (at that time) and professor of rhetoric in Milan.[5] He was also the author of the account recording the events in honour of the royal birth.[6]

The spiritual rites took place on 9 December in the Chiesa della Beata Vergine presso San Celso, within a scenography staged by Giovanni Battista Crespi, known as Il Cerano, a renowned artist of that time. The ceremony was embellished with musical accompaniment. The account refers to the abundance of lights, ornaments, music, luxurious apparel. The baldachin beside the altar was fitted out for the governor, the marquis Ambrogio Spinola Doria (1569–1630), to underline the sacredness of the figure whose presence he represented: indeed, the governor was the representative of the king of Spain and had the duty of carrying out his orders.[7]

To enrich the ceremony, three hundred poor children entered in rows of two, newly dressed in crimson or white clothes, the colours of the city's coat of arms. Charity was indeed an important virtue for defining the greatness of high-ranking people. Charity and generosity are expressions of magnificence, signs of divine greatness. Aristotle too links magnificence to 'liberalitas', but these charitable acts are to be read in light of the Christian creed: God has done great things with creation and continues to do them with the generosity with which he bestows his grace. In the same way, the royal figures, chosen by the Lord, conform to the same model. The Counter-Reformation climate and

5 Born in Turin to a noble family, Emanuele Tesauro entered the order of the Jesuits at the age of twenty, from which he departed however at the age of forty-four, remaining thereafter a secular priest. His best-known work is doubtless *Il cannocchiale Aristotelico* (Turin, Sinibaldo: 1654), with which he intended to revolutionise poetry and rhetoric, as Galileo had done with his telescope. At the centre of his speculation was above all metaphor, the clever rhetorical figure capable of amplifying the signifying power of words, penetrating the truth of creation, and generating wonder in the reader. See Tesauro E., *Scritti*, ed. Doglio M.L. (Alessandria: 2004); Doglio M.L., "Emanuele Tesauro, Il cannocchiale aristotelico", in Guaragnella et al. (ed), L'incipit e la tradizione letteraria italiana, Seicento e Settecento (Lecce: 2010) 107–113; Bisi M., *Il velo di Alcesti. Metafora, dissimulazione e verità nell'opera di Emanuele Tesauro* (Pisa: 2011).

6 Tesauro E., *Racconto delle publiche allegrezze fatte dalla nobilissima città di Milano alli 4. febraro 1630. Per la felice nascita del serenissimo primogenito di Spagna Baldasar Carlo Dominico* (Milan, Heredi di Melchior Malatesta: 1630).

7 The orders of the governor and the nomination of the royal officials, which was the governor's competency, had however to obtain the approval of the Milanese senate. The governors sought on numerous occasions to limit the prerogative of the senate, but with scarce and short-lived results.

the Magistery of St. Charles surely played a role in revitalising these aspects of the Catholic creed, but the foundation is much older. On the one hand there is the classical conception of the ethical value of magnificence, with its public ends; on the other hand, there is Thomistic thought, which recalls that magnificence is proper to God, and is therefore a virtue in which men might participate. All the more so then may royal figures, on account of the sacredness connected to their birth and their authority.[8]

The reciprocity between magnificence and regality was the object of a panegyric written previously by the aforementioned Tesauro in 1627 for Cardinal Maurizio of Savoia.[9] In the panegyric, quoting St. John Chrysostom, he claims that magnificence is peculiar to princes and, at the same time, that one cannot be a prince if he does not have it.[10] Tesauro would later dedicate the entire seventh book of his *Filosofia morale*, entitled "Della magnificenza, et de' suoi estremi" (On Magnificence and Its Extremes), to magnificence.[11] The text betrays a decidedly pragmatic conception of magnificence: 'la Magnanimità non è Magnificenza: quella misura l'Animo, e quella, l'Opera' – 'Magnanimity is not Magnificence: the former measures the Soul, and the latter, the Work'.[12] Already in 1630, on the occasion of the celebrations for the birth of Balthasar, Tesauro underlined its concrete elements: he emphasised how displaying the poor in new clothes, gifts of that 'sun' born for the good of the community.[13]

8 On the sacredness of the king see Kantorowicz E., *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: 1957); Marin L., *Le portrait du roi* (Paris: 1981); Bertelli S., *Il corpo del re. Sacralità del potere nell'Europa medievale e moderna* (Florence: 1990); Ricci G., *Il principe e la morte. Corpo, cuore, effigie nel Rinascimento* (Bologna: 1998); Uspenskij B.A., *In regem unxit. Unzione al trono e semantica dei titoli del sovrano* (Naples: 2001); Ricci F. (ed.), *Il corpo nell'immaginario. Simboliche politiche e del sacro* (Rome: 2012).

9 Tesauro E. *La magnificenza panegirico sacro del m. r. p. Emanuele Tesauro della compagnia di Giesu, detto al serenissimo prencipe cardinal di Sauoia, nel giorno, che fondò il nouitiato della detta compagnia in Chieri, dedicato al serenissimo Carlo Emanuele duca di Savoia* (Turin, Heredi di Giovanni Domenico Tarino: 1627).

10 Tesauro cites St. John Chrysostom: 'Si quis principem laudare vellet, nihil illi adeo decorum adscriberet quam magnificentiam'. In Tesauro, *Panegirici et ragionamenti* (Torino, Bartolomeo Zavatta: 1659–1660) vol. II, 186.

11 Tesauro E., *La filosofia morale deriuata dall'alto fonte del grande Aristotele stagirita, dal conte, et caualier Gran Croce don Emanuele Tesauro, patritio torinese* (Turin, Bartolomeo Zapata: 1670) 125–147.

12 Tesauro, *La filosofia morale* 144.

13 '[…] rendeva assieme divotione e contento: come se in quei donativi, e in quei purpurei colori, vedessero comparire un'Aurora della beneficenza di quel Sole, à commun profitto nascente' – '[…] aroused both devotion and contentment: as if in those donatives, and in those purplish colours, they saw the appearance of the Dawn of the beneficence of that Sun, rising for the benefit of everyone'. Tesauro, *Racconto delle publiche allegrezze* 8.

Beneficence and charity are expressions of magnificence: those gifts manifest a presage of magnificence, the concrete beneficence of the prince, the sun.

The metaphor of the sun also plays an important role in the set in Piazza Duomo and in the panegyric written by Emanuele Tesauro: the sun that chases away the darkness and the fog of the time. An auspicious birth, for which an ignivomous machine shaped like Mount Etna was built, which can be seen here in the drawing by architect Richini [Fig. 13.1].[14] The symbol of fire took on a dual meaning: not only the fire that burns in the mountain snow, the most bizarre and wonderful thing one could imagine, but also the fire by which weapons are forged. The sides of the mount indeed presented caves in which one could see Cyclops forging weapons. In the biggest of these, Hephaestus himself forges the weapons for Achilles, in the presence of his mother Thetis. Strength and invincibility were wished for the young prince, the next Achilles, so that he might defeat the enemies of the time, the Turks: 'questo Sole nascente farà impallidir quella Luna, che contro i nostri Mari volge altiera le corna' – 'this rising Sun will make that Moon fade away, which haughtily turns her horns against our Seas'.[15]

This is, very briefly, the rhetorical message of the set, which did not fail to list the virtues of the Habsburgs; on the other hand, the myth of Thetis, represented in the cave as surrounded by the rivers Adda and Ticino, natural borders of the Milan dukedom, also hinted at Milan's reputation for forging weapons.[16] In the grand set the celebration of the greatness of Milan was therefore entwined with that of the ruling house and of the new prince, with an image known to Castilian literature.[17] The city expressed magnificence in the construction of

14 Francesco Maria Richini/Richino (1584–1658) was a high-profile architect in Milan. Cesare Bassano made some etchings after Richini's inventions. The drawing that is reproduced here does not do justice to the real height of the set.

15 Tesauro E., "I presagi panegirico sacro del m.r.p. Emanuel Tesauro della Compagnia di Giesù nella nascita del sereniss. Infante di Spagna", in idem, *Racconto delle publiche allegrezze* 15.

16 For further reading see Barigozzi Brini A., "Feste, cerimonie ecc. nel Duomo e nella piazza del Duomo nel Seicento e nel Settecento, attraverso le stampe e i disegni d'epoca", in Gatti Perer M.L. (ed.), *Il Duomo di Milano* (Milan: 1969) 77–82; Varallo F., "Apparati effimeri, feste e ingressi trionfali nella Lombardia barocca e tardobarocca", in Terraioli V. (ed.), *Lombardia barocca e tardobarocca. Arte e architettura* (Milan: 2004) 61–83; Bertolini L. – Gariboldi R., "Allegrezze per il 'Dies Natalis': l'erede regale come Bambino Divino", in Cascetta A. – Carpani R., (eds.), *La scena della Gloria. Drammaturgia e spettacolo a Milano in età Spagnola* (Milan: 1995) 621–657; Petta M., "Il 'Monte Etna' a Milano e a Roma: il vulcano pirotecnico come scenografia per i *Fuochi D'allegrezza* nel Seicento", *Lexicon. Storie e architettura in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo* 14–15 (2012) 94–98.

17 Massimo Petta reminds us that 'the representation in Milan as the smithy of Hephaestus could boast a much older origin. In fact, the *topos* of the arms of Milan was fixed in



FIGURE 13.1 Carlo Biffi (designer) after the project by Francesco Maria Richini, Mount Etna, erected in Piazza del Duomo for the birth of Balthasar, son of Philip IV of Spain [1630]. Pen drawing, 34 × 21 cm. Milan, Civica Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco (A.S. m. 51-17)

this great set, as tribute due to the magnificence of the Habsburgs, and in the allegorical image of Hephaestus.

The pyrotechnic machine was complex and massive: the volcano was over 26 metres tall and the set surrounding it 11 metres tall; it was about 70 metres long and 24 metres large; the entire machine was embellished with statues, inscriptions, devices, reproductions of antique coins, paintings etc. The mount itself was covered with rhetorical messages.[18] Magnificence is expressed through the grandiosity of the apparatus, which shows through its measurements and the richness of its decorations and its rhetorical accompaniment, not to speak of the wonder that the pyrotechnic machine must have aroused, this gigantic volcano in the middle of a square which erupted in fire on snowy slopes and verdant trees.

However, if we compare these festivities to those organised in Milan for the birth of Philip IV, we will see that the celebrations for the birth of Balthasar were not as rich and complex as his father's: likely the historical moment, the war of succession between Mantova and Monferrato, the food shortages of the previous years and the advance of the plague, had rendered any attempt to match that model inappropriate.[19]

But the very size of the entire machine should bring us to agree with Tesauro when he writes, with his usual encomiastic hyperbole, that he never saw 'ne più vera, ne più vivace allegrezza di questa, che nata à un parto con questo serenissimo Sole, solve ogni nebbia di affanno [...] balena nello splendor di queste mura, nella magnificenza de nobili donativi trascorre ...' – 'no truer, no more lively happiness than this, which was born with this most serene Sun, clears every fog of woe [...] flashes in the splendour of these walls, passes in the magnificence of the noble donatives ...'[20] The birth of the new sun, the star that makes life possible on earth, the source of prosperity, the prince, cannot but be treated with magnificence – even, or maybe especially, during times of

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Castilian literature already from the fifteenth century; in particular, the juxtaposition of Etna with the Milanese forges is found in the *Laberinto de fortuna* of Juan de Mena (ante 1444); the image of "Milán, oficina de Vulcano" is found, later, even in Cervantes' *El licenciado vidriera* (1613) and in *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (1617)'. In Petta, "Il 'Monte Etna'" 94–95.

18 The transcription of the inscriptions, the description of the entire set, of the events, and of the succession of fires, are reported with precision in Tesauro's account.

19 On the festivals for the birth of Philip IV, see the rich report by Parona Cesare, *Feste di Milano nel felicissimo nascimento del serenissimo principe di Spagna don Filippo Dominico Vittorio descritte da Cesare Parona; et alla Maestà del potentissimo. rè catolico Filippo terzo nostro signore dedicate* (Milan, Girolamo Bordone and Pietro Martire Locarni: 1607).

20 Tesauro, "I presagi panegirico sacro" 5.

crisis. The sacredness of the royal figure is evident in the metaphor of the sun.[21] The cult of the sun indeed recedes into the millennia, and the Christian faith had assimilated it in the image of God, who is light and life: Jesus himself is born on the day which in ancient times signalled the winter solstice, when the sun once again gains the upper hand over the shadows.

2 Magnificence in the Funeral Sets of Elisabeth of France

When the sun sets, the Earth remains in darkness: the exequies of kings, queens, popes or like figures represent important moments of transition, whose overcoming the people remember, celebrate, and give thanks for; they gather at the time of the crisis point in this passing, alongside with the departed themselves, who are represented by the symbols that characterise them.[22] These important rites of passage are therefore very interesting for the study of the representation of regality. The exequies for royal figures, especially of such rank as Philip IV, the 'Planet King', or his family, could not help but be grandiose.

Beautiful, intelligent, fond of the arts, Elisabeth of Bourbon-France, spouse of Philip IV, died in childbirth on the 6th of October 1644.[23] For her funeral in Milan a meticulous and sumptuous ceremonial funeral set was prepared; esteemed artists were hired for the occasion.[24] Even the memorial which was prepared for her was particularly magnificent, with its double objective of sketching a clear portrait of the queen and of the Milanese ceremony itself. Indeed, beyond the 34 page long *Breve descrittione dell'apparato funebre fatto per le sontuose esequie della serenissima reina Isabella nel duomo di Milano*, a more detailed account of 138 pages was also written: *Racconto delle Sontuose Esequie Fatte alla Serenissima Isabella Reina di Spagna nella Chiesa Maggiore della Citta di Milano il Giorno 22 Decembre dell'Anno 1644* (Record of the Sumptuous Exequies Done for the Most Serene Elisabeth Queen of Spain in

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21 Alessandro Manzoni took up the metaphor of the king of Spain as sun in his "Introduction" to *I promessi sposi*.

22 A close examination of the delicacy of the moment of the death of royal figures deserves a separate discussion. See note 9. The literature on funeral sets is also extensive: some examples can be found in the bibliography below.

23 Élisabeth de Bourbon, or Elisabeth of France (1602–1644), was known at that time in Milan as "Isabella", which is the translation of her Spanish name "Isabel".

24 In addition to the architect Francis Mary Richini, the painter John Christopher Storer, the sculptor John Peter Lasagna and the Jesuit fathers Rocco Mary Ferrari, John Baptist Visconti and Saviour Scarducci were hired for the whole rhetorical programme. The documents concerning all the regulations, payments etc. related to the death of the queen are found in ASMi, *Atti di Governo, Potenze sovrane post 1535*, 11 and 11bis.

Chiesa Maggiore in the City of Milan on the Day 22 December of the Year 1644), accompanied by exquisite etchings by John Paul Bianchi and John Baptist Sole after drawings by John Christopher Storer, which reproduce the funeral sets, the paintings and the statues.[25]

Reviewing the most detailed account of these exequies, we realise that the main virtue recognised to the queen was indeed her magnificence: the etching representing the allegorical statue of magnificence is the first in the account, immediately following the etchings of the catafalque and of an example of the decorations of the nave. The allegorical statue of magnificence was placed on the first floor of the great catafalque in the dome, just beside the entrance, so that visitors would be immediately struck by it.

The descriptions furnished by the reports and by the included etchings grant us an idea, however partial, of the magnificence of the great catafalque and of the entire set, both outside and inside the cathedral; it is indeed very difficult to mentally reconstruct the splendour of the lights, of the colours of the fabrics and accoutrements, of the entire ceremony with its songs and sounds, the perfume of incense, of candles and burning torches – to reconstruct, in short, the complete synaesthetic effects of the event. The *Racconto delle Sontuose Esequie* might however give us an idea of the magnificence of the set and, at the same time, of the magnificence of the deceased queen who was celebrated through it. The grand catafalque, designed by architect Richini, rose in the first bays next to the transept; it was made of faux marble of different colours, depending on the segments [Fig. 13.2].[26] It had an octagonal base, symbol of resurrection, and assembled in its structure a series of ancient symbols: the classical temple, immediately above the base, surmounted by an obelisk, called a 'pyramid'. Obelisks in that era were considered the symbol of the soul rising to heaven like a flame, in symbolism therefore of eternity.[27]

25 *Breve descrittione dell'apparato funebre fatto per le sontuose esequie della serenissima reina Isabella nel duomo di Milano* (Milan, Giovanni Battista e Giulio Cesare Malatesta: ca. 1644); *Racconto delle sontuose esequie fatte alla serenissima Isabella reina di Spagna nella chiesa maggiore della citta di Milano il giorno 22. decembre dell'anno 1644* (Milan, Dionisio Gariboldi: ca. 1645).

26 The size of the whole machine was remarkable: the base was ca. 40 metres long and ca. 14 metres wide. The main body was at least 22 metres tall.

27 The obelisk in Egyptian culture was a monument to Ra, the god of the sun: the same form recalls a sun ray. Obelisks of smaller dimensions were placed in support of the tombs. Perhaps for this reason it was thought that they had a funereal function, like the pyramids. Consider what Pellegrino Tibaldi has to say about this in his description of the funeral set erected in Milan for Anna of Austria in 1581: 'Sopra essi piedistalli vi sono otto Piramidi [...] et queste dimostrano otto Regii, et Imperiali sepolchri, poiche tal forma di sepolchri da gl'antichi Greci, Egitii, et Romani, fu dedicata alli Rè, Imperatori, et Monarchi,



FIGURE 13.2 Giovanni Battista Sole (engraver), Johann Christoph Storer (designer) after the project by Francesco Maria Richini, Catafalque and sets in Duomo for the exequies of Elisabeth of Bourbon Queen of Spain, in *Racconto delle Sontuose Esequie Fatte alla Serenissima Isabella Reina di Spagna nella Chiesa Maggiore della Citta di Milano il Giorno 22 Decembre dell'Anno 1644* (Milan, Dionisio Gariboldi: [1645]). Engraving, 40 × 35 cm. Milan, Civica Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco (VOL. AA.316)

On top there was a globe towered by a crown, itself supported by flying cherubs. Four more obelisks with globes and crowns were placed in the four corners above the temple.

The entire funeral set had actually been conceived like one of the ancient funerals described by Porcacchi in his *Funerali antichi di diversi popoli, et nationi* of 1574.[28] The erudite literatus had described this funeral procession as being preceded by heralds who called forth the people, followed in turn by magistrates; immediately after came the wailers, who, weeping, tore at their hair; and then the 'family' of the deceased, which is to say those who had served him in life. Analogously, the iconographic programme of the catafalque called first for the heralds, here represented by four statues taller than two metres, bronze coloured, which held trumpets to summon the populace: the allegorical statues were placed in plain sight, at the four corners, above the architrave of the shrine that safeguarded the funeral bed. The first of these, standing before the principal door of the cathedral, was that representing magnificence, with a crown upon its head and wearing splendid raiment, in the act of bestowing jewels with its left hand and indicating the figure of the catafalque itself with its right [Fig. 13.3]. The dedication was explicit: the monumental apparatus, the 'mount' of the royal magnificence was consecrated to Elisabeth, the great queen of Spain.[29] This was a celebration representative of the magnificence of

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et tal forma di Piramidi fù cavata dalla fiamma del fuoco, che sempre desidera salir al Cielo, le quali ancor si mettono, et figuransi per l'anima del buon Prencipe, morto, assunto fra li Dei, et queste Piramidi si figurano per otto sepolchri, per li principali defonti della Serenissima Casa d'Austria […]'. – 'Above these pedestals stand eight Pyramids […] and these show forth eight Kingdoms, and Imperial sepulchres, since that kind of sepulchre from the time of the ancient Greeks, Egyptians, and Romans, had been dedicated to Kings, Emperors, and Monarchs. That kind of Pyramid was hollowed out by a flame of fire, which always seeks to rise to Heaven; thus pyramids are still employed to represent the soul of the good Prince, who, now dead, has been assumed amongst the Gods, and these Pyramids represent eight sepulchres, for the principal deceased of the Serenissima House of Austria […]'. In Tibaldi Pellegrino, *Descrittione de l'edificio, et di tutto l'apparato, con le cerimonie pertinenti à l'essequie de la serenissima d. Anna d'Austria, regina di Spagna. Celebrate ne la chiesa maggior di Milano, à di 6. di Settembre, 1581. Opera di m. Pellegrino de' Pellegrini, architetto di sua Maestà, et de la fabrica del duomo di Milano* (Milan, Paolo Gottardo Pontio: 1581) n.p.

28 Porcacchi Tommaso, *Funerali antichi di diuersi popoli, et nationi; forma, ordine, et pompa di sepolture, di essequie, di consecrationi antiche at d'altro, descritti in dialogo da Thomaso Porcacchi da Castiglione Arretino. Con le figure in rame di Girolamo Porro Padouano* (Venice, Simon Galignani de Karera: 1574).

29 'ISABELLAE / MAGNAE HISPANIARUM REGINAE / REGALIS MAGNIFICENTIAE / HANC MOLEM M.P.'. *Racconto delle sontuose esequie* 14.



FIGURE 13.3 Giovanni Battista Sole (engraver), Johann Christoph Storer (designer), Drawing of the statue of the allegory of Magnificence, in *Racconto delle Sontuose Esequie Fatte alla Serenissima Isabella Reina di Spagna nella Chiesa Maggiore della Citta di Milano il Giorno 22 Decembre dell'Anno 1644* (Milan, Dionisio Gariboldi: [1645]). Engraving, 40 × 27 cm. Milan, Civica Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco (VOL. AA.316)

the queen, and, at the same time, of the magnificence of the commissioners of that work, the fruits of whose labour were dedicated to her.[30] As in the festival for Balthasar, the celebration of the royal figure was intertwined with the celebration of the city, or the duchy, of Milan: it was fitting to render tribute to the magnificence of the queen with a magnificent, a grandiose set.

In the same way, the other inscription proclaimed that the piety of her subjects would celebrate the exequies of the profoundly pious queen mother.[31] The allegorical statue of piety was thus placed on the same side as that of magnificence, the side toward the entrance, so that it would be among the most visible. The allegory of piety, which represented the queen's maternal care towards her kingdoms, completed the profound meaning of magnificence itself: virtues directed to the welfare of the subjects were inspired by Christian feelings. The emphasis placed on piety fully recalls the teaching of St. Charles, the central figure of the first wave of Catholic Counter-Reformation, who was the archbishop of Milan from 1564 to 1584. The queen was owed fidelity and reverence: the relative allegorical statues were also represented as heralds with trumpets, and they were lodged on the architrave, on the side toward the altar.

The magnificence of the queen, not to speak of her celebratory set, was enriched with other allegorical representations, which represented her domains. Among all the provinces ruled by Her Majesty eight were reproduced. The rhetorical programme stipulated that the ancient Magistrates would open the funeral immediately following the heralds. They were represented by allegorical statues, which also presented explanatory inscriptions. The backs of the inscriptions, which faced the open section of the catafalque, displayed emblems with the main rivers of each province, together with a motto. The possession of the rivers indicated the possession of life itself and of the well-being that these rivers brought, a further sign of the greatness of the queen.

As weepers mourned the departed, the statues of Poverty and Hunger, Disease and Sadness tore at their hair, to symbolise the pain of those who had been helped by the compassion and generosity of the queen, thus praising her once again. And yet again the quality of the queen's magnificence is heightened by these virtues, which are closely connected to Christian morality. The message is reaffirmed by the entire representation of her virtues. As 'family' of the departed queen, majesty, nobility, richness, beauty, modesty, purity,

30 The grandeur of the catafalque is highlighted in both reports. For the size, see note 26.

31 'ISABELLAE / PIENTISSIMAE PARENTI / POPULORUM PIETAS / PARENTAT'. *Racconto delle sontuose esequie* 18.

fertility and grace were placed at the corners of the first floor. These are virtues that regard the bearing of her body, her physical characteristics, with the last four mitigating and completing the meaning of the first, so as to confer balance on the whole, and to make of her body a kind of mirror for the interior virtues. The virtues of the soul were set in the intercolumniations next to the funeral bed: religion, providence, magnanimity, liberality, mercy, equanimity, economy, marital concord. Elisabeth therefore appears to us as the model of a magnificent queen performing these virtues, dedicated to the well-being of others.

Personal virtues and weepers were also directly represented in emblems, feats and inscriptions, as well as in symbolic paintings of past heroines placed in the chancel and the nave set. Thus, Elisabeth becomes a synthesis of the most virtuous women of elder times: from Semiramis to Amalasuntha to the empress Helena, mother of Constantine, and others still – portraits of women who were ready to generously give themselves for the good of the common weal. In particular, in describing liberality, the sister virtue of magnificence, the example is given of Empress Pulcheria (399–455). The comparison with Pulcheria (399–455), a fervently religious woman who oversaw the building of numerous churches in Constantinople, and who upon her death left all of her wealth to the poor, underlines yet again how acts of charity and devotion are fundamental characteristics of Elisabeth's magnificence. In the record dedicated to Elisabeth's liberality, the metaphor of the sun once more returns, this time eclipsed by her death.

Thousands of lights, torches and candles shone on the entire catafalque and the decoration of the nave and chancel, causing the bronze and silver decorations to shimmer in the light. The queen's Magnificence thus shone through the magnificent funeral apparatus. The ceremony was no less grand, starting with the cortege of the notables who came to the church wearing mourning clothes, which caused 'horrore, e maraviglia' (horror and wonder) in the viewer.[32] These last observations on the effects produced by the spectacle of the cortege of notables recall the 'delightful horror' which Edmund Burke (1729–1797) in the following century would theorise was an experience of the sublime.[33] The vision of pain and death provokes terror, but at the same time it is the source of an extremely strong emotion that carries us to the threshold,

32 *Racconto delle sontuose esequie* 5.

33 Burke Edmund, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London, R. and J. Dodsley: 1757).

which brings us to experience the limit, which opens us to the infinite without permitting the infinite to swallow us. This is an experience which, precisely because it is not lived in the first person, does not annihilate us, but rather becomes a source of delight, of that sense of pleasure which one perceives after the passing of a great fear. The concept of magnificence is here enriched with a new facet, that of the sublime.

3 The Magnificent Exequies for Philip IV of Spain and the Signs of Decline in Those for Charles II

Splendour and magnificence were not lacking in the sets for the exequies of Philip IV. Once the death of the sovereign had been announced, the governor, under the mandate of the queen, gave orders for the organisation of the exequies: 'un Funerale che nella magnificenza e splendore fosse vivo ritratto del merito del defonto Monarca' – 'a Funeral that in its magnificence and splendour would be a true portrait of the merit of the late King'.[34] The marquis Gerolamo Stampa had the duty of overseeing its organisation. He first of all had new garments and mourning paraments distributed for the clergy and all the public officials, guards and officers.[35] The archbishop made arrangements for the devotional practices, for celebrating masses for the soul of Philip in churches, monasteries, Schools of Doctrine etc. Three separate exequies were organised in December 1665 in the cathedral, in January 1666 in San Fedele and in February in Santa Maria della Scala, with different sets and catafalques [Figs. 13.4–13.5].

We will concentrate above all on the most splendid of these, the one in the cathedral [Fig. 13.6]. Among the various projects which competed to produce the set in the cathedral, the choice fell on that conceived by the engineer Ambrogio Pessina, as his set was judged pious and majestic in equal measure. The criterion of the choice is eloquent and reveals the weight that was given to the religious aspect and to the Counter-Reformation culture in defining and

34 [Barella Giovanni Battista], *Esequie reali alla catt. maestà del re d. Filippo IV. Celebrate in Milano alli 17 Decembre 1665 per ordine dell'eccellentissimo signore il sig. d. Luigi Guzman Ponze De Leon Capitano della Guardia Spagnuola di S.M. Cattolica, del Consiglio Supremo di Guerra, Governatore, e Capitano Generale dello Stato di Milano &c. In esecuzione del comandamento dell'augustissima reina Maria Anna nostra signora* (Milan: Marc'Antonio Pandolfo Malatesta ca. 1666) 2.

35 The documents concerning all the regulations, payments etc. related to the death of the king can be found in ASMi, *Atti di Governo, Potenze sovrane post 1535*, 8–11bis.

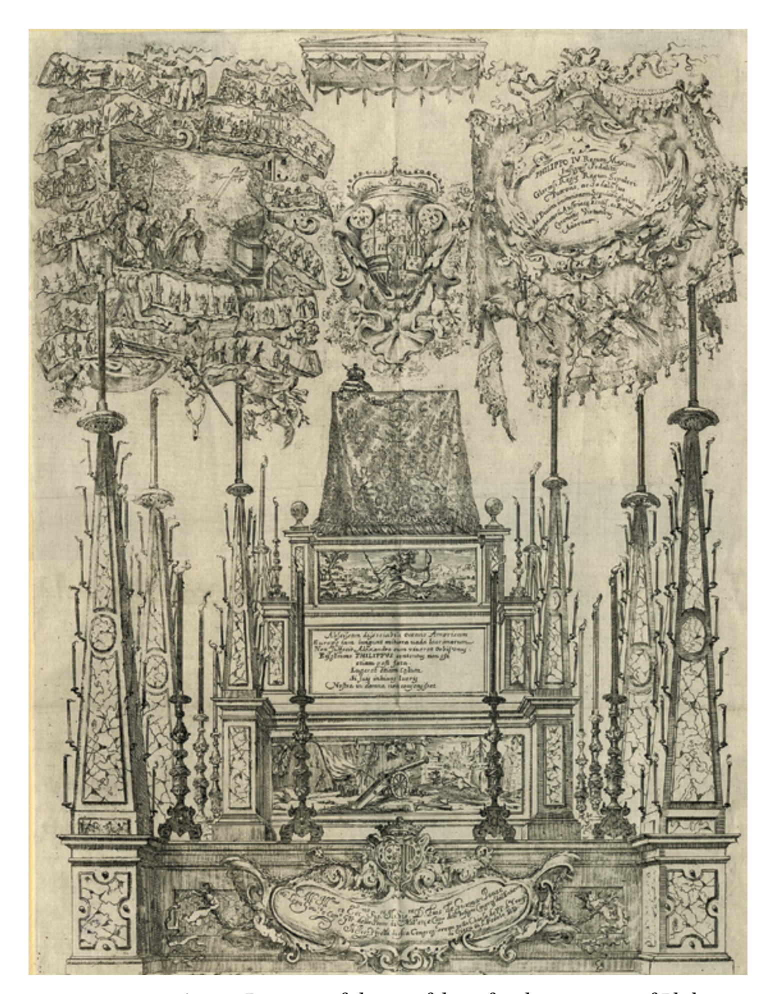


FIGURE 13.4 Anon., Drawing of the catafalque for the exequies of Philip IV of Spain in S. Fedele prepared by the Congregation of the Entierro, 16 gennaio 1666. [1666] Etching, 50 × 38.3 cm. Milan, Civica Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco (A.S. m. 63-21)

expressing magnificence. The rhetorical programme was assigned to two Jesuit priests, whom Carlo Maria Maggi, public reader of rhetoric, writer and playwright, aided in their work.[36]

36 Among the artists who were hired were the sculptors Giuseppe Vismara and Carlo Simonetta and the painters Giuseppe Panfilo, Ercole Procaccini and Federico Bianchi.



FIGURE 13.5 Simone Durello (engraver) after the project by Giovanni Ambrogio Pessina, Drawing of the catafalque for the exequies in S. Maria della Scala for Philip IV of Spain, 3 February 1666. [1666] Engraving, 57.8 × 35.2 cm. Milan, Civica Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco (A.S. m. 51-26)



FIGURE 13.6 Bianchi (engraver) after the project by Giovanni Ambrogio Pessina, Drawing of the catafalque in Duomo for the exequies of Philip IV, in [Barella Giovnni Battista], *Esequie reali alla catt. maestà del re d. Filippo IV. Celebrate in Milano alli 17 Decembre 1665* [...] (Milan: Marc'Antonio Pandolfo Malatesta 1666). Engraving, ca. 94 × 58 cm. Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense (ZCC. 05. 0002/03). By permission of Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali

On the ordained day, one could see the cathedral transformed into a show of overall sumptuousness and awesome majesty; affection and grief vied with each other to impose their own magnificence.[37] Here again, as in the exequies of Elisabeth of France, the expression of magnificence is wedded to the sublime, magnificence together with horror and with death. This aesthetic of the sublime is carried out with a skilful mixture of grandiose elements, both in their height and in their proportions, and a masterful contrast between the black of the fabrics and wall hangings and luminous elements, not only torches and candles, but also statues and other luminescent elements, gilded, silver-plated, or in bronze 'spruzzato di vetro volante' – 'sprayed with flying glass'.[38]

The decorations were very grand, starting already from the façade. The cathedral was transformed into a 'Theatre of Glory' for the occasion,[39] with at least one hundred statues, amongst which rose the 'gloriosissimo Tempio delle virtù reali' – 'most glorious Shrine of royal virtues':[40] the Catholic King had triumphed over death through his virtues. More than 5,000 candles and torches communicated the image of a triumph, similar to those of Ancient Rome.[41] Indeed, the set, as the account tells us, was to represent the immortality of the king's merits and at the same time the sorrow of his subjects.[42] The dominant element of the entire set, which the plan repeatedly defines as sumptuous and magnificent, was without doubt the catafalque, which recapitulated the fundamental arguments of the rhetorical programme: the virtues of Philip IV standing alongside his power. The message was repeated and deepened by the accoutrements decorating the internal façade, the transept and the chancel. The magnificence of the set was also expressed in its dimensions. The

37 'Si vidde tutto il Tempio Maggiore fatto Teatro di sontuosissima insieme, ed orrida maestà; havendo l'affetto, e il dolore fatto campeggiare à gara ciascuno la sua propria magnificenza'. [Barella Giovanni Battista], *Esequie reali alla catt. maestà del re d. Filippo IV* 7.

38 Ibidem, 12. This expression is likely an allusion to the glass dust which was sprayed on certain portions of a work of art to obtain a particular refraction of the light. Traces of this dust have been found in the works of famous painters such as Raphael.

39 Ibidem, 9.

40 Stampa Gerolamo, *All'Illustrissimo, ed Eccellentissimo Signore il Sig D. Luigi de Guzman Ponze de Leon Governatore, e Capitano Generale dello Stato di Milano&c.*, in [Barella], *Esequie reali alla catt. maestà del re d. Filippo IV* n.p.

41 We do not know if the triumphal representations of Humanism and the Renaissance are connected to the triumph of Caesar who, after his victory over the Gauls, ascended to the Campidoglio at night, escorted by elephants bearing vases full of torches, or rather to other triumphs like those of Vespasian and Titus: the texts of Andreas Fulvius or Flavius Blondus had had great influence on the triumphal entries of the Renaissance era, and these texts had taken up the descriptions of Titus Flavius Josephus from the first century AD, among others: Franciscus Modius, too, in 1586 had recounted of the festivals and the triumphs of Ancient Rome.

42 [Barella], *Esequie reali alla catt. maestà del re d. Filippo IV* 13.

catafalque, for example, occupied the first three naves near the transept, with a base which extended more than 33 metres. In height it reached 34 metres; from the top of the nave there hung a large crown, nine metres wide, so that the entire machine brushed the vaults.

All the king's virtues, including Magnificence, are represented in the catafalque. The presence of this last is a peculiarity of Philip IV's catafalque: it was not present among the virtues celebrated in the exequies of Philip III.[43] The massive catafalque, with an octagonal base, had a similar structure to that used for Elisabeth of France: this one, however, repeated the octagonal shape, symbol of resurrection, and thus immortality, in all the segments above the base. Virtue and power were represented according to a hierarchical order that placed the power exercised by Philip on Earth below his virtues, which culminated in those virtues connected to the practice of religion; these last were placed on the higher podium, immediately beneath the great allegorical statue of Religion towering over the catafalque. Above was the great crown, supported by eight little cherubs and headed by a cross, to symbolise that Religion, the relation to God, is the basis for regality. Religion is in fact the unifying element of the entire set, and metaphorically of the entire life of Philip IV.

Commencing from the bottom of the reading of the rhetorical programme of the catafalque, that part which concerned the power exercised by the king, we find a celebration of the glory of the great Catholic king, who had committed himself to spreading the faith in the New World and defending it in the Old. These two worlds, with all their various provinces, were represented by allegorical statues in the sets of the nave and the transept, combined with tributary rivers, military triumphs, masks and other decorations that illustrated the power of the King. The allegories of the provinces of Italy and Spain were placed on the lower level of the catafalque and flanked by obelisks, covered in candles. The allegory of the province of Milan was placed in the foreground, in front of the entrance to the cathedral, beside the stairway which led to the funeral bed. In self-celebration, Milan was portrayed as a vigorous man with a serpent on his helmet, the heraldic symbol of the Visconti coat of arms, which was meant to represent the city's famed association with armaments, and an iron crown in his right hand. Beneath was the allegory of the river Po.

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43 Philip IV was the model of the reigning baroque style and of magnificence: he invested substantial sums of money in court rituals; he was a lover of the arts, and is remembered as the patron of various artists; he built important buildings, parks, gardens, theatres for court use and religious edifices. At the same time however the decline of the Spanish monarchy has always been identified with his reign. For an interpretation of this personage and his historical context, see Martínez Millán J. – Hortal Muñoz J.E. (eds.), *La Corte de Felipe IV (1621–1665). Reconfiguración de la Monarquía Católica* (Madrid: 2015).

As for the other sets, the celebration of the king's magnificence was entwined with that of the city, or rather the duchy, which offered magnificent tributes in recognition of its king.

Devices and inscriptions, bearing metaphors from modern science and technology, provided commentary on the allegories of the New World provinces. To heighten the devotion, the generosity, the solicitude of the king with respect to his subjects, preference was given to the usual literary metaphors, drawing on a new culture interested in the contemporary science and in technological innovations. This ranges from the technology of the armaments, be it the firing of a cannonball or the force with which a lance is flung against a target, to machinery that studies and applies the laws of rotation in the hands of a clock, to astronomy, to techniques for extracting sugar from sugar cane. These indirectly sketch the figure of a king and of a court open to the novelties of science and technology; the image is quite unusual, being as it is the product of the Jesuits who had devised these figurations and their corollary mottoes. Conversely, the allegories of the provinces of the New World mentioned barbarism and Christian martyrdom, but also military conquests and the spreading of the Catholic religion. The magnificence of the king is thus painted also from this point of view, for his having expended himself in disseminating and defending the Catholic faith, rather than from any vain thirst for power. He had attained something which the account defines as a harmony of virtue and power, and which the set was intended to celebrate.[44]

In the exercise of his power, the king was sustained and guided by his moral virtues. Indeed, continuing with our reading of the rhetorical message of the catafalque, we find statues of the king's moral virtues: providence, justice, mercy, munificence, magnificence, magnanimity, constancy, and affability delineate the figure of the king and of his dedication to the well-being of his subjects. The statues were placed above the big temple with Solomonic columns guarding the funeral bed. To make their meaning more explicit, the statues were accompanied by inscriptions and paintings of biblical stories related to the king's feats. As in the catafalque dedicated to Elisabeth of France, Magnificence was given a prominent place in front of the door of the cathedral: dressed in royal garment, it pointed to a building plan which it held in one hand. In the painting on its back, an architect showed Solomon the design of a temple. Indeed, the account reminds us that Philip's Magnificence manifested itself in public works for the benefit of his subjects. First of all are the works connected to religious devotion: the building of new churches, the renovation of many others, decorations and fittings for the altars; a substantial annuity to

44 [Barella], *Esequie reali alla catt. maestà del re d. Filippo IV* 13.

the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, the gift of a robe studded with 6,400 diamonds to Our Lady of Loreto, or other such things, but also, hospitals, universities and fortresses.[45] Grandeur, magnificence, and a quest for beauty directed toward moral and spiritual salvation, as well as to the defence of his subjects: works, all of them, hugely inspired by the Catholic religion. In front of Magnificence stood the allegory of Munificence, which completed the portrait of a generous monarch, ready to help those in need and to lavish gifts and hospitality. His works likened him to Solomon, who is represented in the act of gifting jewellery to the queen of Sheba.[46]

Apart from the moral virtues, four other virtues connected to religion are represented, located at the base of the steeple, or obelisk, which upholds the statue of religion: Zeal of Faith, Observance of the Church, Devotion to the Eucharist, Love for the Queen of Heaven are the nourishment which feed the moral virtues of the king. Lions and eagles, symbols of power, stand beneath the great steeple, or obelisk, covered in candles, to symbolise the hierarchical order: they are in the service of God.

Another clue to understanding the magnificence of Philip IV is given to us by the sets that the Congregation of the 'Entierro' prepared in San Fedele.[47]

45 Ibidem, 27.

46 For a brief description of the magnificence of the ceremony, see ibidem 68–69.

47 We cannot here analyse the funeral sets in San Fedele or at La Scala. For a consideration of these, we refer the reader to the literature on the subject: *Il sepolcro glorioso ornato dalla pietà dell'insigne Congragatione dell'Entierro di Cristo N.S. nell'essequie della maestà di Filippo Quarto nella chiesa di Santo Fedele de PP. della compagnia di Giesù, Milano, li 16 Genaro 1666* (Milan, Nella Stampa Archiepiscopale: ca. 1666); Ederi Pietro Giuseppe, *Il Monumento della grandezza reale alzato alla gloriosa memoria del re catt. D. Filippo IV. il grande per le sollenni esequie fattegli a 3. di febbraio 1666. in Milano nella regia cappella e collegiata di S. Maria della Scala e consegrato da quel capitolo all'Augustissima reina Maria Anna nostra signora* (Milan, Marcantonio Pandolfo Malatesta: ca. 1666). For further critical analyses see Grandis S., "Teatri di sontuosissima e orrida maestà. Trionfo della morte e trionfo del re nelle pompe funebri regali", in Cascetta A. – Carpani R. (eds.), *La scena della Gloria* 697–702; Cremosano M., "Esequie reali alla Cattolica Maestà del Re Filippo IV celebrate in Milano alli 17 Dicembre 1665", in Porro G., "Memorie storiche milanesi di Marco Cremosano dall'anno 1642 al 1691", *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 7 (1880) 224–295; Bernardi C., "Il Sepolcro Glorioso. Il teatro della morte nelle celebrazioni dell'Entierro di Milano", in idem *Carnevale, Quaresima, Pasqua. Rito e dramma nell'età moderna (1500–1900)* (Milan: 1995) 70–83; Dell'Omo, "Apparati funebri nella Milano del secondo Seicento. Le committenze, gli artisti, le tipologie", *Arte lombarda* 98.99 (1991) 54–62; Zanlonghi G., *Teatri di formazione* 175–193; Petta M., "Printed Funerals in 16th and 17th Century Milan", in Brambilla E. [et al.], *Routines of Existence: Time, Life and After Life in Society and Religion* (Pisa: 2009) 124–127. Alberti A, "Il Sepolcro Glorioso. L'Entierro e le esequie reali di Spagna nelle fonti iconografiche a stampa", in Zardin D. – Pagani F. – Pisoni C.A. (eds.), *Religione, cerimoniale e società nelle terre milanesi dell'età moderna* (Germignaga: 2018) 200–206.

'The glorious sepulchre' celebrated Philip's virtues, comparing his figure to other royal figures of the House of Habsburg, who were represented with single portraits, accompanied by emblems, devices, and inscriptions explaining the virtue that characterised each of them: these same virtues were exalted and adopted by Philip. Rudolf II, the Holy Roman Emperor, patron and collector, famous for his 'Wunderkammer', was chosen to embody Magnificence.[48] Here we find allusion to the love for the beautiful and to the art collections of emperor Rudolf II. This was an example that Philip IV wished to emulate by enriching the Royal Spanish Collection to such a point as to make it one of the richest and most appreciated in all of Europe. The epithet *el Rey Planeta* was in large part owed to his large painting collection, which manifested his power and his magnificence before the world, both in the eyes of the Spanish and in those of foreigners. Thus, not only works of piety or of a religious nature, but also the love of the arts and their consequent patronage identify Philip IV as 'Magnificent'. The Milan sets emphasises that Magnificence here had an aesthetic connotation in the love for beauty, as it did with the great princes of the Humanist epoch and the Renaissance.[49]

The complex set in Santa Maria della Scala was dedicated to the 'greatness' of the king and to his devotion to Mary. To praise the Magnificence of the king in the nave sets, it was thought necessary to stress how much he had excelled in building and embellishing artworks dedicated to the Virgin: one emblem portrayed the sun, whose rays shone upon superb temples; the sun rode a chariot and held the Golden Fleece in its hand, clearly symbolising the king.[50]

Here again we find the metaphor of the sun, already expressed in the rhetorical programme of the celebrations for the birth of Prince Balthasar, to emphasise the extent to which the life and well-being of the kingdom's subjects depended on the king. The etching in the frontispiece of the account of the exequies in the collegiate Royal Chapel of Santa Maria della Scala tells us something more regarding magnificence [Fig. 13.7]. The allegory of Fame with trumpet in hand receives the drawing of the catafalque of La Scala from a beautiful matron, Gratitude. The cherubs below are poised to give her the drawings of the other two catafalques. A figure wearing armour, a helmet and

48 *Il sepolcro glorioso* 15. This account is also quoted in Menestrier Claude-Francis, *Des décorations funèbres où il est amplement traité des Tentures, del Lumieres, des Mausolées, Catafalques, Inscriptions …* (Paris, Robert J.B. de la Caille: 1684) 36.

49 In the fifteenth century it is important to mention at least Cosimo de' Medici, praised by Timoteo Maffei, Ercole I d'Este, whose magnificence is illustrated by Sabadino degli Arienti, or even the popes. The features of the prince's magnificence are presented in writings by Maffei and dell'Arienti, as well as by the more famous Giovanni Pontano.

50 Ederi, *Il Monumento della grandezza reale* 54.



FIGURE 13.7 Bianchi (engraver) Cesare Laurentio (engraver), Federico Bianchi (designer), “Exequies in S. Maria della Scala for Philip IV of Spain, 3 February 1966. Antiporta with allegorical figuration”, in Ederi Pietro Giuseppe, *Il Monumento della grandezza reale alzato alla gloriosa memoria del re catt. D. Filippo IV. il grande per le solenni esequie fattegli a 3. di febbraio 1666. in Milano nella regia cappella e collegiata di S. Maria della Scala* […] (Milan, Marc'Antonio Pandolfo Malatesta: 1666). Engraving, 26.4 × 19.5 cm. Milan, Civica Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco (VOL.X.29)
IMAGE © CIVICA RACCOLTA DELLE STAMPE ACHILLE BERTARELLI, MILAN

a cloak, with a sword on his hip, is busy drawing other sets. This is to represent Milan itself; the snake on the helmet proves as much. The city pays homage to its king, defeating death, which – confined in a corner – vainly tries to grab the drawings. In the iconography, the designing of projects is an attribute of magnificence, which thus becomes part of the rhetorical message. Gratitude consigns to Fame the magnificent catafalques that Milan had prepared, thus vanquishing death and perpetuating the memory of the king's magnificence.

The funerals of Philip IV appear to be the apotheosis of the *miles christianus*, to borrow a term from Marcello Fagiolo:[51] the king, a soldier in the service of God, triumphs over death and is taken into heaven, precisely by virtue of his virtuous works, which aimed at the well-being of his subjects, and thanks to the tributes of honour and benevolence of the same. In this interweaving of classical reminiscences of great sets and of Christian culture, magnificence plays a significant role, both that of the deceased who is celebrated, and that of those who consecrate majestic exequies to him.

But after the death of Philip IV, the decline of the Spanish Habsburgs grew swifter. What has been said above for the funerals of Philip IV cannot be repeated for the funeral of his heir Charles II, in 1701. Celebrated almost privately at San Celso, this funeral certainly did not have the same trait of grandeur as that celebrated for Philip IV.[52] The decline that characterised the Spanish house was evident even in the set, as we can see from the etchings [Fig. 13.8]. Magnificence did not find a place among the few allegorical statues, nor in the rhetorical programme; the funeral sermon instead took as its subject magnanimity, a virtue which concerns intentions, the soul, and not actions. As Tesauro wrote, magnanimity is not magnificence; the first measures the soul, the second, the work.[53]

4 Conclusion

The meticulous description of these sets, in which no detail is left to chance, is necessary to understand the three fundamental objectives of these sumptuous ceremonies. In the first place, the magnificence of the sets was supposed to represent the magnificence of the king, prince or queen. In the second place,

51 Fagiolo M., "Introduzione alla festa barocca: il Laboratorio delle Arti e la Città Effimera", in Fagiolo M. (ed.), *Le capitali della festa*, vol. 1, 20.

52 *Il Gran Pianto. Esequie celebrate alla Maestà di Carlo Secondo dall'Insigne Congregatione dell'Entierro nella Chiesa di S. Fedele della Compagnia di Gesù in Milano* (Milan, Eredi Ghisolfi: 1701).

53 Tesauro, *La filosofia morale* 144.

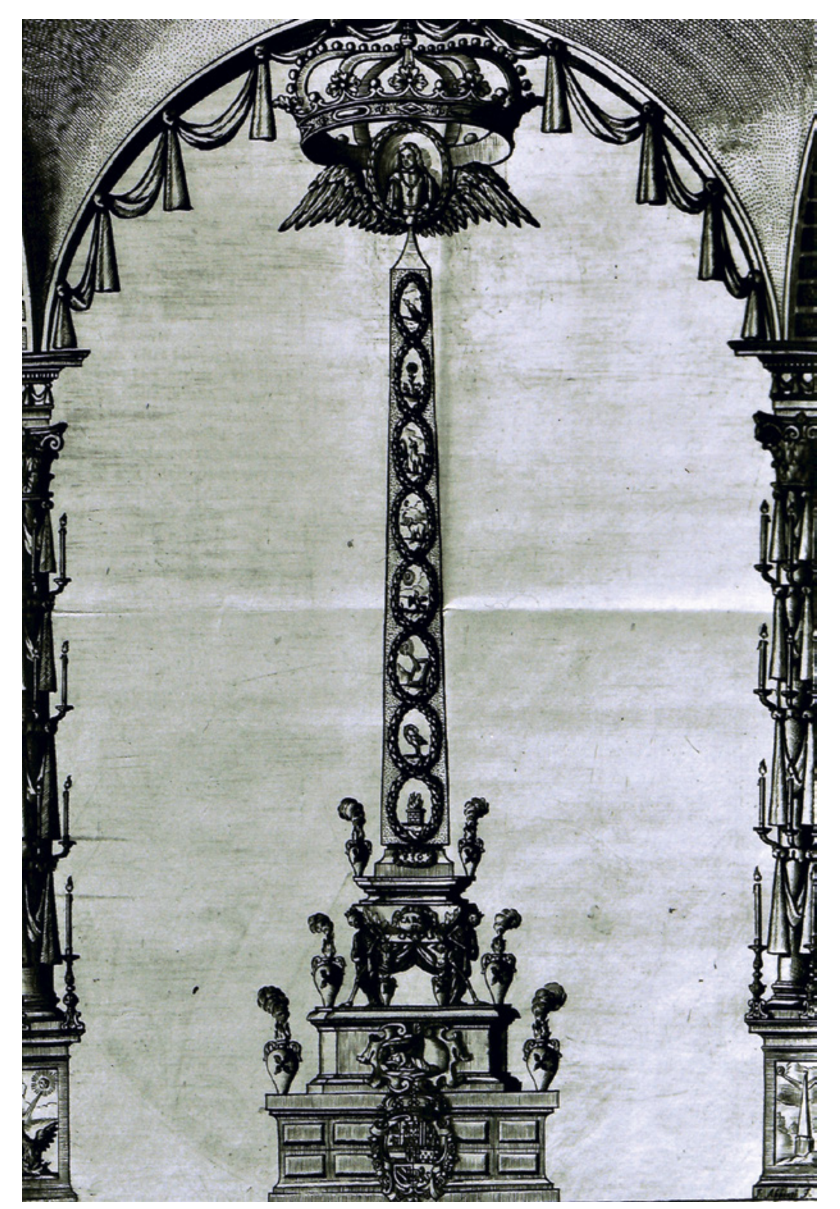


FIGURE 13.8 Giuseppe Abbiati (engraver), Drawing of the catafalque for the exequies of Charles II in San Fedele, in *Il Gran Pianto. Esequie celebrate alla Maestà di Carlo Secondo dall'Insigne Congregatione dell'Entierro nella Chiesa di S. Fedele della Compagnia di Gesù in Milano* (Milan, Eredi Ghisolfi: 1701). Engraving, 35.8 × 24.5 cm. Milan, Civica Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco (OP.M.19)

magnificence was celebrated as a specific royal virtue, in some cases the most important of the seventeenth century: to emphasise it, the sets described the principle actions undertaken by the royalty. Finally, the occasion also provided an opportunity to celebrate the magnificence of the commissioners, the City and the Duchy of Milan.

To attain these objectives, all the expressive codes were marked by pomp and by grandiosity. Dimensions, lights, fires, decorations, rhetorical messages and music were all coordinated and aimed at provoking awe, a sense of the sublime – the very effect that the presence of the king, the prince or the queen, each of whom is considered to be a sun and a divine epiphany on earth, is supposed to produce. This awe had to be immediate, but also it also was to be fixed in memory so as to perpetuate the fame of the persons celebrated, as well as that of the commissioners of the event.

The seventeenth-century idea of magnificence, which Philip IV above all appears to embody, inherited the Renaissance tradition, but it reinforced the religious connotation, revealing the distinct traits of Counter-Reformation culture. Regality and magnificence appear closely connected to the idea of a royal power derived from God, as is particularly evident in the metaphor of the sun. The manner in which sovereignty and the concept of magnificence were conceived changed over the course of the centuries, but power will still feel the need to perform with magnificence.

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CHAPTER 14

The Ducal Stage: Festive Culture and the Display of Magnificence in Seventeenth-Century Württemberg

Kathrin Stocker

> Euer Fürstliche Gnaden werden dise Relation meiner Rais [...] inn Gnaden vermercken, vnnd wenigist darauss sehen, wie *magnifique* es bey diser Fürstlichen Kindtstauf zuegangen. – Your Princely Grace will receive this report of my journey with grace and will at least learn from it how *magnifique* it was at this princely baptism.
>
> Philipp Hainhofer to Duke Philipp II of Pommerania-Stettin
> Augsburg, 6 April 1616

∴

The Duchy of Württemberg was one of the most influential southern German principalities at the beginning of the seventeenth century before the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).[1] It devastated the country for a long period and brought the duchy's leading cultural position to an abrupt end.[2] Under the reign of Duke Johann Friedrich (1582–1628) several dynastic events were celebrated with great splendour in Württemberg.[3] In 1609, he married the daughter of the

1 I wish to thank Walter Melion, Stijn Bussels and Gijs Versteegen for their support, helpful remarks and suggestions during the preparation of this text.

2 Vann J.A., *The Making of a State. Württemberg 1593–1793* (London: 1984). See Marcus K., "The Shifting Fortunes of War: Patronage of the Wurttemberg Hofkapelle during the Thirty Years War", *German History* 25 (2007) 1–21; Smart S., "Ballet in the Empire", in Béhar P. – Watanabe-O'Kelly H. (eds.), *Spectacvlvm Evropævm (1580–1750). Theatre and Spectacle in Europe* (Wiesbaden: 1999) 548–570; Smart S., "The Württemberg Court and the Introduction of Ballet in the Empire", in Mulryne J.R. – Watanabe-O'Kelly H. – Shewring M. (eds.), *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: 2005) 35–46.

3 To date, there is no biography of this duke. For a biographical overview, see Gotthard A., "4.0.3. Johann Friedrich", in Lorenz S. – Eberlein C. (eds.), *Das Haus Württemberg: Ein biographisches*

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Elector of Brandenburg, Barbara Sophia (1588–1636), during a four-day celebration with dancing, dinner, knighting games and ballets. A few years later, in 1616, the baptism of their son Friedrich was celebrated opulently. Then, in the years 1617 and 1618, another baptism and the weddings of the duke's brothers were occasions for celebrations. The designs and itineraries of these festivities, which included tournaments, ballets and festive services, were recorded in prints, which were produced for the purpose of remembrance and were meant to be part of the splendid feasts.[4]

The descriptions of the festivities officially published by the court all aimed to amplify the duke's position as a ruling prince and to show his princely splendour, but ideas of magnificence were only expressed indirectly and the term 'magnificence' was never used explicitly in contemporary sources.[5] The tension between expressions of magnificence and the absence of the term itself in writings seems to be contradictory, but illustrates the challenges faced by the court as it attempted to balance contemporary courtly splendour and local moral aspirations. In order to investigate how the idea of magnificence, related as it was to French and Italian court style and strongly criticised by Protestant authors in Württemberg, was sketched by contemporary authors, I will first focus on the sources relating to the wedding of Johann Friedrich to Barbara Sophia in 1609. The description of the wedding festivities written by Johannes Oettinger and a short review of the festive tradition in Württemberg in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century will show how such events were criticised, and how the young Duke reacted to his critics. Secondly, the descriptions of the baptism of Prince Friedrich in 1616 will shed light on the question of how the notion of magnificence was received, felt and expressed by spectators.

Lexikon (Stuttgart: 1997) 142–146. Raff G., *Hie gut Wirtemberg allewege. Das Haus Württemberg von Herzog Friedrich I. bis Herzog Eberhard III.: mit den Linien Stuttgart, Mömpelgard, Weiltingen, Neuenstadt am Kocher, Neuenbürg und Oels in Schlesien* (Schwaigern: 2014), 83–116, contains a short biography and source collection.

4 Over the last number of decades court festivities and festive reports have attracted the interest of historical researchers, see Béhar P. – Watanabe-O'Kelly H. (eds.), *Spectacvlvm Evropævm: (1580–1750). Theatre and Spectacle in Europe* (Wiesbaden: 1999); Watanabe-O'Kelly H. – Simon A., *Festivals and Ceremonies: A Bibliography of Works Relating to Court Civic and Religious Festivals in Europe 1500–1800* (London: 2000).

5 Schade, R., "Court Festival Culture during the Reign of Duke Friedrich of Württemberg (1593–1608)", *Daphnis* 21 (2003) 83–118, 102.

1 Reasoning Magnificence: The Ducal Wedding of 1609 and the Culture of the Court

Johann Friedrich was among the Lutheran and Calvinist princes who founded the Protestant Union at Auhausen (Margraviate of Ansbach, today Bavaria) after the unsuccessful Reichstag of Regensburg of 1608, during which Emperor Ferdinand put pressure on the Protestant princes.[6] The Union was an alliance within the Holy Roman Empire to defend Protestant interests against the Catholic emperor. The Brandenburg Elector Joachim Friedrich was, like his future son-in-law, a Protestant prince and member of the Union. Thus, the marriage of Johann Friedrich of Württemberg to Barbara Sophia of Brandenburg not only represented the dynastic union of two Protestant families in politically turbulent times but also underlined the duke's ambition to become a key figure within the network of Protestant princes. Therefore, it is not surprising that all the founding members of the Union attended the Württemberg wedding in 1609.[7] Courtly celebrations, which included the arrival of the guests, dinner, ceremonies, delivery of gifts, dancing, fireworks, tournaments and a farewell, offered the perfect frame in which to demonstrate the unification of the princes and the self-image of the ruling family.[8]

The text of the festival report was written by Johannes Oettinger (1577–1633) and published in Stuttgart in 1610.[9] Oettinger was from Nuremberg and had

6 The founding members of the Union were the ruling princes of the Palatinate, Württemberg, Ansbach, Kulmbach, Baden-Durlach and Pfalz-Neuburg. For an introduction to and an English translation of the Union's declaration, see Wilson P.H., *The Thirty Years War: A Sourcebook* (London: 2010) 12–16. On the Protestant Union, in particular, see Béhar P., "The Holy Roman Empire at the Eve of the Thirty Years' War: A New World in the Making", in Mulryne J.R. – Watanabe-O'Kelly H. – Shewring M. (eds.), *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: 2005) 4–14.

7 On the Protestant community present at the wedding, see Wiebe P., *"To adorn the groom with chaste delights": Music and Court Wedding Festivals in Early Modern Stuttgart, 1575–1609*, Dissertation, University of Michigan 2004, 15.

8 Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly explores the wedding of member dynasties of the Protestant Union with a focus on the intersections of tournaments and ballet. See Watanabe-O'Kelly H., "The Protestant Union: Festival, Festival Books, War and Politics", in Mulryne – Watanabe-O'Kelly – Shewring, *Europa Triumphans* 15–34.

9 Oettinger Johannes, *Warhaffte historische Beschreibung der fürstlichen Hochzeit vnd desz hochansehnlichen Beylagers: so der durchleutig hochgeborn Fürst vnnd Herr Herr Johann Friderich, Hertzog zu Würtemberg vnd Teck* [...] *mit der auch durchleutigen hochgebornen Fürstin vnnd Frewlin Frewlin Barbara Sophia Marggrävin zu Brandenburg in Preussen* [...] *in der fürstlichen Haubtstatt Stuttgardten, Anno 1609, den 6. Novembris vnd etliche hernach volgende Tag celebriert vnd gehalten hat* (Stuttgart, Johann Rößlin: 1610). [Title: A true historical description of the princely wedding held by His Serene Highness Johann Friedrich Duke of Württemberg and Teck with Her Serene Highness Mistress Barbara Sophia Marquess of

accepted a position in the Württemberg court administration at the beginning of the seventeenth century. He was entrusted by Johann Friedrich with the production of new maps, which, due to their accuracy, are today considered groundbreaking for cartography in southern Germany.[10] His report on the wedding of 1609 comprises 260 printed pages with a dedication and a preface, and is divided into three so-called books (i.e., chapters), dealing with the preparations, the arrival of the guests, the arrival of the bride, the marital ceremony, as well as dinners, tournaments, and *divertissements*.

In his description, Johannes Oettinger discusses the necessity of holding a large-scale celebration to mark the princely wedding. He never uses the word 'magnificence' but defines two cornerstones of balance in the world: princely authority and marriage: 'Wann wir den Lauff dieser Welt unnd die mancerley sachen so darinnen fürgehen […] betrachten so befinde wir das […] alles Thun und Wesen […] auf zweyen Hauptständen beruhen nemlich auff dem Stand der Obrigkeit und auff dem Stand der Ehe'. – 'When we look at the course of the world and certain things that happen, we see that all doing and being is based on two main things, namely the state of authority and the state of marriage'.[11]

Oettinger argued that both of these guarantee a stable political order, peace and wealth, because the majesty of God is 'bildlich […] in den weltlichen Regenten' – 'figuratively visible in the person of the ruler', and because God has granted power to the princes to be his representatives. This divine power, which was visible through princely authority, was better perceived in works than in words.[12] Therefore Oettinger considered courtly celebrations and public appearances of the rulers as fundamental elements of governing, maintaining power and impressing people:

> Gott selbsten hat solchen Personen mit dem gepräg und Bildnus seiner Majestät also kantlich und außtruckenlich gezeichnet das man selbige auch in grossen Widerwertigkeiten und Verenderungen ihres Glücks an ihnen gewaltig leuchten und scheinen sihet. […] Was aber dieses Majestettisch Ansehen eigentlich seye das kan mit worten nicht gnugsam erklärt noch mit dem Sinne grundlich ergriffen und verstanden warden. Dann es ist eine besondere verborgene Krafft die das Menschliche

Brandenburg of Prussia in the capital of Stuttgart, on the 6th November in the year 1609 and celebrated for several days.]

10 Oehme R., *Johannes Oettinger (1577–1633): Geograph Kartograph und Geodät* (Stuttgart: 1982).

11 Oettinger, *Warhaffte historische Beschreibung*, preface n.p. [1].

12 Oettinger, *Warhaffte historische Beschreibung*, preface n.p. [3].

> Gemütt wunderbarlicher und unerforschlicher Weise zur forcht ehrerbietung unnd gehorsam […] bewegt.
>
> God Himself has expressly marked such persons with the imprint and portrait of His Majesty, which is visible and shines in times of great adversity and changes of fate. But what this majestic reputation actually is cannot be explained sufficiently in words or fully understood through the senses, for it is a special hidden power that miraculously and inexplicably brings the human mind to fear, reverence and obedience.[13]

Secondly, since marriage, was essential for a prince to guarantee succession, stability and peace in the principality, Oettinger claimed that princely weddings should be celebrated visibly for everyone, that is, in great splendour. With this, the 'gifts of God may be felt and grasped' directly by guests, visitors and the people.[14]

Thus, Oettinger attempts to link the idea of a representative court and magnificent expression with the ideas of governance and power. His text clearly indicates that a connection between splendour and ruling is not self-evident or self-explanatory for Württemberg and requires a conceptual frame. To understand why Oettinger felt compelled to frame the court celebrations in this way, it is necessary to return to an earlier period and examine the relations between courtly festivals and the image of the prince of the duchy of Württemberg in the sixteenth century.

2 Review: Courtly Festive Culture in the 16th Century

Under the reign of Dukes Ludwig (reign 1568–1593) and Friedrich (reign 1593–1608), it was customary to celebrate dynastic events on a grand scale. Ludwig was a respected monarch whose piety was widely known and who 'trusted his councilors' and was perceived as a modest and wise ruler.[15] Under his reign, the *Lusthaus* was built in the eastern part of the palace garden in the years 1584–1593 (see figure 14.1: The *Lusthaus* is on the right side). This was a representative festive building, which would, for centuries, be at the centre of cultural courtly life and which housed representations of dominion, and the

13 Oettinger, *Warhaffte historische Beschreibung*, preface n.p. [2].

14 Oettinger, *Warhaffte historische Beschreibung*, preface n.p. [3].

15 Angel S., *The Confessionalist Homiletics of Lucas Osiander (1534–1604): A Study of a South-German Lutheran Preacher in the Age of Confessionalization* (Tübingen: 2014), 57.



FIGURE 14.1 Matthäus Merian (engraver), "*Fvrstlicher Lvstgarten zv Stvettgartt*", [s.l., 1616]. Engraving, 33.4 × 28.2 cm. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek (shelfmark Schef.fol.8120)

princely dynasty.[16] It was an impressive building designed to represent the history of the Württemberg family, to showcase the ruling family's wealth and stand as an architectural symbol of magnificence.[17] The magnificent impression was not achieved through the use of gold and silver, as one might expect, but was instead conveyed through the building's architectural brilliance.

At the heart of the building was a hall, which, at the time, was the largest hall north of the Alps that was not supported by pillars (see figure 14.2).[18] With

16 The building – with several architectural modifications – was in use until 1802 when a fire destroyed it. It was finally demolished in the middle of the 19th century and was replaced in 1912 by today's opera house.

17 For a reconstruction and further information, see Ziegler N. (ed.) *'Eine der edelsten Schöpfungen deutscher Renaissance'. Das neue Lusthaus zu Stuttgart* (Stuttgart: 2016); on the historic preservation of the ruins see Ziegler N., "Lusthausruine im Stuttgarter Schlossgarten: Das Schicksal eines besonderen Denkmals" *Denkmalpflege in Baden-Württemberg* (2016), 90–96; Weber-Karge U., *'… einem irdischen Paradeiß zu vergleichen …' Das neue Lusthaus in Stuttgart: Untersuchungen zu einer Bauaufgabe der deutschen Renaissance* (Sigmaringen: 1989).

18 Ziegler N., "Innovation im Verborgenen: Der Dachstuhl des Neues Lusthauses als, Meisterwerk der Zimmermannskunst", in Ziegler N. (ed.), *'Eine der edelsten Schöpfungen deutscher Renaissance'. Das Neue Lusthaus zu Stuttgart* (Stuttgart 2016), 70–83, 71.

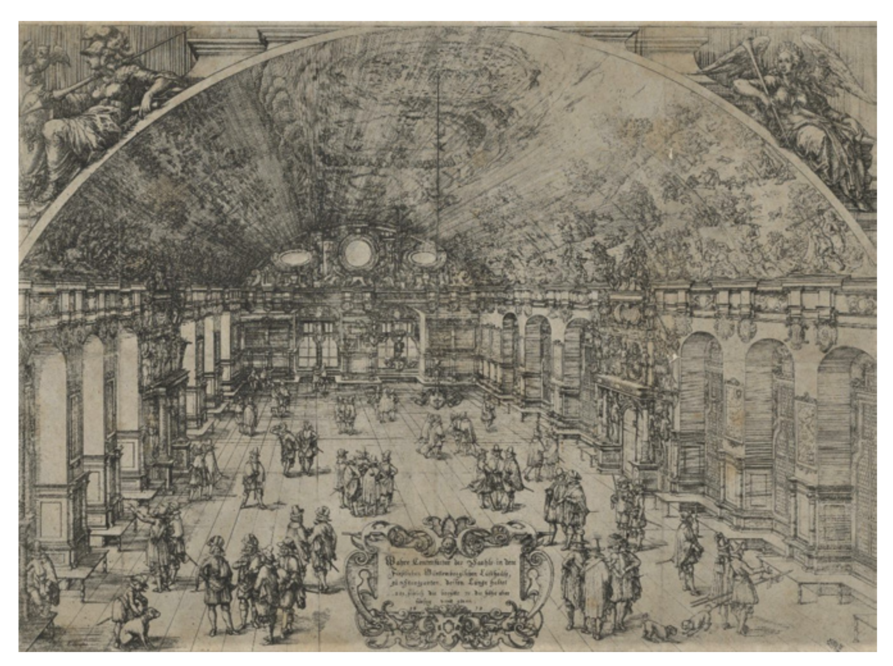


FIGURE 14.2 Carl Friedrich Beisbarth, [*Neues Lusthaus, Innenansicht des großen Saals*], Stuttgart, 1845. Drawing after the copper engraving of Friedrich Brentel (1619), 42.3 × 56 cm. Stuttgart, Universitätsbibliothek (shelfmark Beis0055)

a length of 201 feet (57.68 metres), a width of 71 feet (20.34 metres) and a height of 51 feet (14.61 metres), the hall amazed visitors and appeared to be 'an earthly paradise'.[19] The topos of fertile countryside, peaceful valleys, picturesque hills and the river Neckar as a lifeline – a ubiquitous narrative in Württemberg's history and an important aspect of the ducal family's self-image – was integrated into the festive building to form a background to every festive occasion that took place. In the ballroom, landscape paintings depicting the woodland countryside of the dukedom by the court painter, Georg Donauer, and others hung on the walls. Hunting scenes painted on the frieze complemented these displays of nature. The ground floor included a fountain hall with three square basins and arcades. The fourteen-metre-high wooden cantilevered ceiling in the ballroom was adorned with an elaborate set of pictures inspired by the Bible and designed by the court preacher, Lucas Osiander. The arcades were adorned with busts of family members, like a walk-in family tree, showing the many marriages, including international marriages, and the resulting

19 Letter of Philipp Hainhofer to Duke Phillip II of Pommerania-Stettin in 1606. Quoted after Weber-Karge, *'... einem irdischen Paradeiß zu vergleichen ...'*, 123.

alliances.[20] The four corner towers of the building housed the art collection of the dukes and counts of Württemberg, a well-kept and hidden treasure, which was shown only to selected guests.[21]

When Duke Ludwig died childless in 1593, his cousin Friedrich, who had already successfully ruled the Württemberg principality of Mömpelgard (Montbéliard, today Alsace, France) for twelve years, came to power. He was experienced in French courtly culture, confident, well-educated and widely travelled.[22] On his arrival at Württemberg, he was perceived as a visionary monarch and an art-loving courtier.[23] During his reign, Friedrich travelled to England and was initiated into the Order of the Garter.[24] When he visited Italy, he was – even as a Protestant – impressed by what he saw and experienced there. Schade notes that the Papal court, in particular, must have had an extraordinary impact on the Duke when he witnessed the Mass celebrating the Holy Year of 1600 on 31 December 1599.[25]

When Friedrich returned to his duchy and hosted splendid festivities, he came into conflict with local elites, namely the estates and members of the church. The opposition between court festivities and Protestant ideas about modesty became apparent.[26] The ways in which Friedrich had changed court culture were recognised to be of French and Italian origin and were thought to be offensive and disrespectful to the country's traditions. Martin Crusius (1526–1607), a historian and classical philologist at the University of Tübingen, noted in his diary in 1598, 'Gott kann der Welschen Art nicht leiden' – 'God cannot stand the French/Italian splendour'.[27]

After Johann Friedrich succeeded his father in 1608, the Landtag explicitly demanded the young duke to reintroduce the 'teutsche manier' – 'German manner' at court. This meant abolishing French style and etiquette in favour

20 On the symbolic meaning of the busts, see Fritz E., 'Monumente der Herrschaftssicherung: Dynastische Propaganda am Stuttgarter Lusthaus', in Ziegler N. (ed.), *'Eine der edelsten Schöpfungen deutscher Renaissance': Das neue Lusthaus zu Stuttgart* (Stuttgart: 2016), 22–32.

21 Fleischhauer W., *Die Geschichte der Kunstkammer der Herzöge von Württemberg in Stuttgart* (Stuttgart: 1976).

22 For a detailed examination of the travels, see Schade, "Court Festival Culture".

23 Bickhoff N., "'Gott kann der Welschen Pracht nicht leiden': Hof- und Festkultur unter Herzog Friedrich I. von Württemberg" in Kremer J. – Borgards S. (eds.), *Hofkultur um 1600: Die Hofmusik Herzog Friedrichs I. von Württemberg und ihr kulturelles Umfeld* (Ostfildern: 2010), 73–94, 73–74.

24 Schade, "Court Festival Culture", 87–94.

25 Schade, "Court Festival Culture", 96–97.

26 Angel, *The Confessionalist Homiletics*, 59–61, and Bickhoff, "Hof- und Festkultur", 73–74.

27 Bickhoff, "Hof- und Festkultur", 75.

of 'die alte, einfältige doch löbliche' – 'the old, stupid but laudable' way of celebrating festivities following the celebrations of his predecessor Ludwig.[28] The latter had commissioned the poet Nicodemus Frischlin (1547–1590) to write a description of his wedding celebrations in 1575. Frischlin was professor of poetics at the University of Tübingen and by marriage also part of the intellectual Protestant network in Württemberg of his time. His poetic 'account [of the ducal wedding in 1575], like all other Latin narratives printed for the Stuttgart's court festivals of the period, was a product of the literary culture of the university of Tübingen.'[29] Like Crusius, mentioned above, the Landtag demanded nothing less than a restoration of the university's moral and intellectual influence at court expressed in courtly celebrations. In order to avoid conflict, it was the task of his chronicler, Oettinger, to embed these festivities within an appropriate frame, because the new duke Johann Friedrich did not wish to take a step back again.

3 Performing Magnificence without Being Magnificent: The Ducal Wedding in Texts and Poems

With this in mind, Oettinger's motivations become clearer. In choosing his words, Oettinger seems to have avoided the term 'magnificence'. However, he described the princely feast using synonymous terms: the arrival of the guests was 'stately' and 'handsome', and they were received with 'due courtesy', 'pomp' and 'cordiality'. He addressed the potential criticism that a festival of this size would unduly burden the people by emphasising that the retinues of the arriving princes would also be guests of the generous duke:

> So hat man doch die Sachen dahin gerichtet das niemand auß den Wirtsheusern oder anderßwoher sonder meniglich von der Fürstlichen Hoffhaltung gespeiset zu welchem Ende dann uber die zwo gewohnlichen Herten und Ritterkuchen zu Hoffe noch zwo andere von newem auffgerichtet worden.
>
> Everything was arranged in such a way that no one was fed in the inn or elsewhere, but in many different ways by the Princely Court, for which

28 Quoted in Bickhoff, "Hof- und Festkultur", 75.
29 Wiebe, *Music and Court Wedding Festivals*, 47.

purpose two other stoves were set up in addition to the two usual stoves and the knights' kitchen at the court.[30]

While the details of the guests' arrival, their accommodation and even the wedding ceremony itself are only described in Oettinger's text, the artist Balthasar Küchler (1571–1641) published an extensive collection of illustrations of the tournaments and dances in 1611.[31]

Balthasar Küchler was an artist from Schwäbisch Gmünd. He was known to Georg Donauer (1571/73–1634), the court painter at Stuttgart, and, thus, may have been commissioned to create the artworks for the wedding in 1609. However, the art historian Hermann Kissling speculates that the 241 illustrations of the princely wedding were not completed by Küchler alone.[32] He estimates that at least twenty people were involved. The original sketches came from Georg Donauer and his collaborators. The description of the tournaments given by Oettinger explains the illustrations, which depict sumptuous costumes and richly adorned tournament participants.

After the entrance of Fama, Orpheus, Apollo and Linus with several nymphs, Johann Friedrich and his two brothers Ludwig Friedrich (1586–1631) and Julius Friedrich (1588–1635) entered the tournament grounds as Brennus, Mannus and Arminius, dressed in gold and silver with red atlas silk trousers and golden helmets.[33] The feathers on the helmets were yellow, black, red and white.[34] They had maces in their hands and swords by their sides: Brennus (Johann

30 Oettinger, *Warhaffte historische Beschreibung*, 4.

31 Küchler Balthasar, *Repraesentatio Der Fürstlichen Auffzug und Ritterspil: So bei des Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herren Herrn Johann Friderichen Hertzogen zu Wurttenberg und Teckh* [...]*Und* [...] *Frewlin Barbara Sophien geborne Marggravin zu Brande*[*n*]*burg* [*etc.*] *Hochzeitlich. Ehrnfest den 6. Novemb. Ao. 1609. In der Furstl: Hauptstat Stutgarten mit grosser Solennitet gehalten worden* [...] (Schwäbisch Gmünd, Balthasar Küchler: 1611). [Title: Representation of the parade and knighting games that were held at the wedding of His Serene Highness Johann Friedrich Duke of Württemberg and Teck and Lady Barbara Sophia, born Marquess of Brandenburg, on 6th November 1609 at Stuttgart, with great splendour]. The print is digitally accessible by courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/gm-4f-1152/start.htm (22.03.2020).

32 Kissling H., *Künstler und Handwerker in Schwäbisch Gmünd 1300–1650* (Schwäbisch Gmünd: 1995), 145.

33 Küchler, *Repraesentatio*, plate 18 of the tournaments, http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/gm-4f-1152/start.htm?image=00023 (22.03.2020). The fact that these were actually the Dukes is clarified by Oettinger *Wahrhaffte Beschreibung*, chapter *Anfang des Ringrennens* [*Beginning of the quintain*], 142.

34 The colours were deliberately chosen as yellow and black (heraldic gold and black) were the colours of the House of Württemberg, and red and white (heraldic red and silver) were those of the House of Brandenburg.

Friedrich) had a golden mace, and Mannus (Ludwig Friedrich) and Arminius (Julius Friedrich) had silver maces.[35] Oettinger characterised Brennus, Mannus and Arminius as 'hochberühmbte teutsche Könige [famous German kings]'. Brennus and Mannus were famous for conquering Rome, and Arminius, having been raised in Rome, had defeated the Romans in an unequal contest in the battle of the Teutoburg Forest. The message behind the three historical role models, who were known for their resistance against and victories over Rome, seems obvious: Johann Friedrich and his brother portrayed themselves as fighters in splendid and expensive dress – in short, with a magnificent appearance. The notion of 'German' or 'Germania' was taken up again when Johann Friedrich later appeared in the tournaments as an allegorical Germania.[36]

The ducal brothers were accompanied by mythological and allegorical figures, most notably Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, and Alaric, king of the Visigoths, whom Oettinger also called 'German kings'.[37] The attribution of 'German' to these five historical or half-mythological figures of late antiquity is obviously inaccurate and Oettinger would have known this. But his concern – in accordance with the duke's aim to represent his wedding festivities in an appropriate manner – was not historical accuracy. The appearance of the duke and his brothers and their entourage of 118 people can be read as a response to the request made to him by the Landtag.[38] Two singers performed a song upon the duke's entry, the lyrics of which evoked the concept of a 'German Nation':[39] 'Frisch auff du Teutsche Nation [...] Der Teutschen Sitten / Hofflichkeit / Steth noch so wol zu dieser Zeit / Als vor viel hundert Jahren' – '*Frisch auff* [traditional greeting] you, German Nation [...] The German customs / Courtesy / Stand well at this time / Like hundreds of years ago'.[40]

35 Oettinger, *Wahrhaffte Beschreibung*, 109.

36 Watanabe-O'Kelly, H., "The Protestant Union", 17–18.

37 The virtues following Orpheus and his companions were Clementia (mercy), who brought Vilitas (inertia) and Vindictas (revenge) as her prisoners, and Fortitudo (strength), who brought Timiditas (fear) and Ira (fury) as prisoners. Others followed. See Oettinger, *Wahrhaffte Beschreibung*, 108–109 and Küchler, *Repraesentatio*, plates 13–15 of the tournaments, http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/gm-4f-1152/start.htm?image=00018 and following (22.03.2020). See also Watanabe-O'Kelly, "The Protestant Union", 18.

38 As Watanabe-O'Kelly pointed out, it is as well an element of the Protestant iconography, see Watanabe-O'Kelly, "The Protestant Union", 19.

39 Brandt B., *Germania und ihre Söhne: Repräsentationen von Nation, Geschlecht und Politik in der Moderne* (Göttingen: 2010) 45–46.

40 Oettinger, *Wahrhaffte Beschreibung*, 110 (beginning of verse 1 and ending of verse 3).

The song closely linked the festive culture of opulence – which had been criticised since the time of Duke Friedrich as French, foreign and inauthentic in this regional context – to the tournament tradition. It also reinterpreted and magnificently staged festive culture in connection with a supposedly German history, thus transforming it into a form of courtly celebration in its own right. The duke responded to his critics by restaging the German tournament tradition, giving it a splendid appearance.

The criticism was addressed again with the ballet, which was held that day in the *Lusthaus*. The scenery in the ballroom was of a mountain with a watercourse.[41] Two hermits entered and played instruments. The mountain opened to the sound of the music and nymphs emerged from it.[42] In the song that followed, the nymphs criticised the hermits for their lives of privation, which were said to be 'wider [Gottes] Ordnung und Gebott' – 'against (God's) order and commandment'.[43] By contrast, celebrations and entertainment were described as favoured by God: 'Darumb die Edle Nymphe fein/ Jetzunder kommen sind herein / Das schön Convent zu schauen: / Der Edlen Gsellschaft wohnen bey/ Mit Freud und Kurtzweil mancherley/ In recht guttem vertrauen' – 'Therefore the noble fine nymphs have now come to view the beautiful assembly and to participate in confidence with joy and entertainment'.[44]

The wedding of 1609 was celebrated in splendour and the text sources reveal this. Nevertheless, it is clear that the official reporting was shaped by the discourses around Protestant modesty and Duke Johann Friedrich's reactions to them. Since his marriage to Barbara Sophia of Brandenburg was not only a dynastic event but also of political significance within the Protestant Union, several meanings can be discerned. With the reference to 'Germania' and the restaging of courtly traditions such as tournaments as magnificent celebrations, he responded to the Landtag's demands for modesty and a return to tradition. At the same time, he made a public presentation of his court and underscored his leading position as a prince within the Protestant empire.

41 Küchler, *Repraesentatio*, plate 1 of the ballet, http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/gm-4f-1152/start.htm?image=00120 (22.03.2020).

42 Küchler, *Repraesentatio*, plate 2 of the ballet, http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/gm-4f-1152/start.htm?image=00121 (22.03.2020).

43 Oettinger, *Wahrhaffte Beschreibung*, 146.

44 Oettinger, *Wahrhaffte Beschreibung*, 147.

4 'How Magnificent It Was': The Baptism of Prince Friedrich in 1616 in the Description of Philipp Hainhofer

Duchess Barbara Sophia and Duke Johann Friedrich had several children.[45] In 1616, the baptism of Prince Friedrich became the occasion for a large celebration.

Johann Augustin Assum (1577–1636) and Georg Rodolf Weckherlin (1584–1653), both secretaries to Duke Johann Friedrich, were commissioned to write two accounts of the courtly festivities.[46] Notably, Weckherlin, also known for his poetry, translated his own text into English, possibly in honour of the English princess Elizabeth, who was married to the Palatine Elector Friedrich V, godfather to Prince Friedrich.[47] In addition to the texts which the court itself commissioned to celebrate the baptism, we can also refer to another source, a letter written by the Augsburg art merchant and diplomat Philipp Hainhofer,

45 Their first daughter Henriette was born in 1610, and their second child, the hereditary prince, Friedrich, was born in 1612. However, Friedrich died at the age of three months. Since they refrained from celebrating the baptisms of their children with large festivities after Friedrich's death, nothing is known about the baptisms of Antonia (born in 1613) and Eberhard, who was born in 1614 and became the reigning duke of the principality for almost 46 years from 1628.

46 Assum Johann Augustin, *Warhaffte Relation Vnd Historischer, Politischer, Höfflicher Discours Vber Deß Durchleuchtigen, Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herren, Herren Johann Friderichen, Hertzogen zu Würtemberg vnd Teck, &c. Graven zu Mümpelgart, &c. Herren zu Heydenheimb, &c. J. F. Gn. Jungen Sohns Printz Friderichen Angestelter vnd Gehaltner, Christlicher vnd Fürstlicher KindTauff* (Stuttgart, Johann Rößlin: 1616). [Title: A true description and historical, political, courtly discourse about the Christian and princely baptism of the young Prince Friedrich, son of His Serene Highness Johann Friedrich Duke of Württemberg and Teck]. Weckherlin Georg Rudolf, *Triumf newlich bey der fürstlichen Kindtauf zu Stutgart gehalten* (Stuttgart, Johann Rößlin: 1616). Illustrations: *Repraesentatio Der Furstlichen Aufzug Und Ritterspil: So* [...] *Herr Johan Friderich Hertzog zu Württemberg, und Teeckh* [...] *etc. bey Ihr. Fe. Ge. Neüwgebornen Sohn, Friderich Hertzog zu Württemberg. etc. Fürstlicher Kindtauffen, denn 10. biss auff denn 17 Marty, Anno. 1616. Inn* [...] *Stuetgarten, mit grosser solennitet gehalten* (Stuttgart: Van Hulsen, 1616) [Title: Representation of the princely parade and knighting games: that [...] Johan Friderich, Duke of Württemberg and Teeckh [...] etc. held at the baptism of His Serene Highness' newborn son Friderich, Duke of Württemberg etc. 10th to 17th March 1616 at Stuttgart, with great splendour].

47 Weckherlin Georg Rudolf, *Triumphall shevvs set forth lately at Stutgart. Written first in German, and now in English by G. Rodolfe Weckherlin, secretarie to the Duke of Wirtemberg* (Stuttgart, Johann Rößlin: 1616). On Weckherlin and his work as a poet, see Forster L.W., *Georg Rudolf Weckherlin. Zur Kenntnis seines Lebens in England* (Basel: 1944) and Ullrich H. (ed.), *Privatmann – Protestant – Patriot – Panegyriker – Petrarkist – Poet: Neue Studien zu Leben und Werk Georg Rudolf Weckherlins (1584–1653)* (Passau: 2018).

reflecting the view of a spectator.[48] Duke Philipp II of Pommerania-Stettin had been invited himself but could not attend the festivities in person. In his place, he sent Hainhofer to Stuttgart.

Hainhofer, having just returned from a three-week trip to Stuttgart, wrote to his patron, Duke Philipp II, to inform him of his latest trip to the duchy of Württemberg to attend the baptism of Friedrich.[49] Adding to the official descriptions, his notes provide a rare insight into the organisational details of the festivities and their impact on spectators. Hainhofer was very competent in matters of court culture and art and was able to contextualise the festivities held in Stuttgart along with other princely festivals known to him. His remarks supplement the official descriptions with the personal commentary of an observer who was present and, at the same time, distant.

The letter not only provides a detailed description but also clearly expresses Hainhofer's admiration for the ducal court. Although he attended as the envoy of the Duke of Pomerania, he was already associated with the Württemberg court, as he had acted as an art merchant for the Württemberg dukes in earlier years.[50] On the one hand, this made him an ideal reporter and a trader of information for other courts. On the other hand, his judgement of the festivities may not have been as objective as it might seem, since Hainhofer as an art merchant was involved in court's ambitions to buy and collect exclusive art

48 On Hainhofer's career as an art merchant, see Krueger I., "Colored Lead Glass and Aventurine Glass in Letters of Philipp Hainhofer Colored Lead Glass and Aventurine Glass in Letters of Philipp Hainhofer", *Journal of Glass Studies* 52 (2010) 35–49. On Hainhofer's work for Duke Philipp II of Pommerania-Stettin and his famous *Kunstschrank*, see Mundt B., *Der Pommersche Kunstschrank des Augsburger Unternehmers Philipp Hainhofer für den gelehrten Herzog Philipp II. von Pommern* (Munich: 2009) and Mundt B., "Herzog Philipp II. als Kunstsammler und sein Agent Philipp Hainhofer", *Pommern. Zeitschrift für Kultur und Geschichte* 3 (2009) 38–44.

49 The letter is preserved in two manuscripts at the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, which were published by Oechelhäuser A. von, "Philipp Hainhofers Bericht über die Stuttgarter Kindtaufe im Jahre 1616" *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 1 (1891) 254–343, and one at the University Library at Heidelberg, Hainhofer Philipp, [Bericht über die Kindstaufe in Stuttgart 1616 – Report on the baptism in Stuttgart 1616], Augsburg: 27 March / 6 April 1616. University of Heidelberg, Cod.Pal.germ. 842, fol. 428r–456v. Digitally accessible by courtesy of the University library of Heidelberg: https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg842/0859 (23.03.2020). The Heidelberg letter is quoted in this article. It is more detailed and more official but is assumed to be a copy of the Wolfenbüttel letter. It is likely that the copy was made especially for the Elector Palatinate, Friedrich V, and his wife Elizabeth. See Krapf L. – Wagenknecht C. (eds.), *Stuttgarter Hoffeste: Texte und Materialien zur höfischen Repräsentation im frühen 17. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: 1979) XXVI.

50 Payments to Hainhofer for artworks and (artisan) weapons are recorded in the account books of the *Landschreiberei* from 1610 to 1616, see Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, A 256 Bd 97 / 99 / 100 / 102 and 103.

works to increase the Duke's famous art collection. His attention to the economic potential of the Württemberg court and his detailed descriptions of the wealth that was displayed through the festivities underline his close connection to the Württemberg court.

Philipp Hainhofer arrived in Stuttgart two days before the celebrations began and stayed with his former tutor, Hieronymus Bechler, who was then a member of the court.[51] This contact enabled him to meet with the most important people at court, who were responsible for the organisation of the festivities.[52] Before the celebrations began, he had an opportunity to view the apartment that had been prepared for Friedrich V, Elector Palatinate (who would later become the 'Winter King'), and his wife Elizabeth. It was decorated with fine tapestries and baldachins made of 'Indian wood'.[53] Earlier the same day, Hainhofer and the other guests were shown the stables. He recorded details of the horses, weapons and decorative objects, such as historical pieces of armour, and underlined the wealth of the Württemberg dukes by reporting that more than four hundred horses were fed every day.[54]

Hainhofer provided an account of the baptismal service, which he was able to follow from an elevated position, which meant that he was missing nothing of importance. He described the gifts offered by the godfathers and godmothers of the young prince, the clothing of all the princes and princesses and the dinners, ballets and fireworks. Again, he focussed particularly on the value of the gifts and the richness of the decoration.

On the court he wrote, 'Es ist auch dieser Hof wegen so viller junger Fürsten, eine rechte Schuel für junge Leuth, Hofweiss zue lehrnen, vnnd sich inn Ritterspielen vnnd Kurtzweilen zue exercieren'. – 'Because of its young princes, this court is a good school for young courtiers to learn about courtly manners and to practice for tournaments'.[55]

Duke Johann Friedrich had four brothers, all of whom, in 1616, lived permanently at the court, went hunting together and assumed some representative duties for the ruling duke. Hainhofer explicitly perceived this rather unusual constellation as an enrichment and underlined that the ducal brothers embodied a young, fashionable and art-loving court. He also highlighted unexpected encounters and insights as, until then, he had not met the Württemberg duke and his brothers in person. He underlined proudly in his report that, as

51 Oechelhäuser, "Philipp Hainhofers Bericht", 313.
52 Hainhofer, [Bericht], Cod. Pal. germ. 842, fol. 434r–434v.
53 Ibidem, fol. 429r.
54 Ibidem, fol. 430v–431v.
55 Ibidem, fol. 450r.

en envoy of the Duke of Pommerania-Stettin, he was welcomed by the duke's brothers with handshakes.[56]

After the celebrations ended, Hainhofer stayed in Stuttgart for another few days as he wished to meet Duke Johann Friedrich in person. He was left waiting for several days but was courageous enough to ask to see the art collection of the duke in the towers of the *Lusthaus*. His request was finally granted, and he wrote in his letter to Philipp II, '[Und ich halte] diss für ein so grosse Gnad [...], wie mich dann diese Zeitung auch mehr erfreuet hat, weder ich waiss nicht was.' – '[I take this] as a great mercy; this message has delighted me more than I can say.'[57] Hainhofer attempted to record the most important pieces and today his account is considered the oldest description of the collection.[58] He was obviously impressed by the pieces he saw in the towers and expressed his awe in his letter. Appreciative that he had been granted access to this secret collection, Philipp Hainhofer summarized the festivities, 'wie *magnifique* es bey diser Fürstlichen Kindtstauf zuegangen, was für ain so hochansehlicher Conventus so viller Chur: Fürsten vnnd Herrn es gewest, vnnd was für Gnad des Herzogs von Württemberg Frstl: Gn: mir ertzaigt haben.' – 'how *magnifique* this princely baptism was, what a highly esteemed *Conventus* of so many princes and lords, and what mercy the Duke of Württemberg has bestowed to me.'[59]

5 Conclusion

The search for the concept of magnificence in the Württemberg festival reports of the early seventeenth century yields various findings. The concept of magnificence is not referred to directly in the descriptions of the wedding of Johann Friedrich to Barbara Sophia in 1609, as it was perceived to be of French and Italian origins by Protestant authors. Nevertheless, the celebrations were an expression of splendour and were thus not only magnificent in various ways but were all framed by political and historical arguments. Connections made by the chroniclers to events under the reign of earlier dukes, along with the arguments of Duke Johann Friedrich's critics, deliberately refer to the idea of

56 Ibidem, fol. 450r.

57 Ibidem, fol. 451v.

58 Hesse S., "Die Neue Welt in Stuttgart: Die Kunstkammer Herzog Friedrichs I. und der Aufzug zum Ringrennen am 25. Februar 1599", in Kremer J. – Borgards S. (eds.) *Hofkultur um 1600: Die Hofmusik Herzog Friedrichs I. von Württemberg und ihr kulturelles Umfeld* (Ostfildern: 2010) 139–166, 141.

59 Hainhofer, [Bericht], Cod. Pal. germ. 842, fol. 456r–456v.

magnificence, but tend to be less than explicit in order to avoid conflicts with the Landtag.

By contrast, Philipp Hainhofer's account of the prince's baptism in 1616 openly appreciates the Württemberg court as a splendid, explicitly magnificent place, and characterises the celebrations as a clear performance of magnificence. However, Hainhofer's letter also shows how he, too, was bound to the Württemberg court, under obligation to give a positive report to another Protestant prince. His description, aiming as it does to represent a wealthy, art-loving court, aligns with official representations of similar Protestant courts in the Early Modern period.

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of Württemberg etc. 10th to 17th March 1616 at Stuttgart, with great splendour] (Stuttgart: Van Hulsen, 1616).

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CHAPTER 15

The Libertine Subversion of the Masque: The Case of John Wilmot's *Lucina's Rape*

Klaas Tindemans

John Wilmot, Second Earl of Rochester (1647–1680) was the (in)famous "court wit" – courtier, poet and libertine – of king Charles II during the Restoration era in England. He left a small but exquisite oeuvre of satirical poems, aphorisms, and other more undefinable texts. He wrote two dramatic texts, including *Lucina's Rape*, an adaptation of John Fletcher's Jacobean revenge tragedy *The Tragedy of Valentinian*.[1] The plot of Fletcher's play remains more or less the same in Wilmot's version, but the focus changes significantly. The cruel Roman emperor Valentinian rapes Lucina, the wife of the brave army officer Maximus, and she commits suicide. Maximus carries out a complex plan of revenge, manipulating and abusing his friend Aëcius, an army general of immaculate virtue but also unconditionally loyal to the emperor. Maximus is chosen as the new emperor, but he is finally killed, poisoned by Valentinian's widow.

In his adaptation John Wilmot does not focus on the fate of the debaucherous Valentinian; rather, rape as an extremely transgressive act, and its context, are his central concerns. The act of rape, taking place offstage, is 'hidden' by the noise of a court masque, both visually and musically. And the ending is open, with a dead emperor and a solitary Maximus, whose sole ambition consists in imitating the nihilism of Valentinian.[2] In the crucial rape scenes, the iconic magnificence of the court masque, as a genre supposed to glorify a divine and generous kingship, is used to highlight royal hypocrisy in the most violent way. However, given Wilmot's libertine way of thinking, the play obscures, in a certain way, the moral accountability of this hypocritical attitude, clearly visible in Fletcher's version – with the exception of his bloody and chaotic ending. Is the materialist conviction of the emperor, his sadistic certainty that nature requires both mental and physical (sexual) submission, responsible for his aggression? Or is it Lucina's idealist chastity, her sublimation of hidden erotic desires ambiguously recognized, only ambiguously acknowledged – a

1 Fletcher J., "The Tragedy of Valentinian", 1647, available from University of Oxford Text Archive, http://ota.ox.ac.uk/desc/1022 (accessed: 5.7.2020).

2 Combe K., *A Martyr for Sin. Rochester's Critique of Polity, Sexuality, and Society* (Newark: 1998) 138–139.

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seventeenth-century version of 'blaming the victim'?[3] At the end of the seventeenth century in England, the masque as a performative genre had lost its impact. The political reasons are obvious: the reduction of the role of the King in the political power balance, enforced by the English Civil War and enshrined by the Glorious Revolution (1688). But it is tempting to ask whether the decline of the masque, as a genre so identified with magnificence, would equally imply the decline of magnificence as a virtue in itself.

This essay focuses on what exactly the 'clash of theatricalities', this dramaturgically quite subtle layering of events (especially in the actual rape scenes), is supposed to represent. The official, magnificent theatricality of the court masque, a mainly power-affirmative genre developed during the reigns of the English and Scottish kings James I and Charles I, before 1642, is confronted with royal misdemeanour in a very conspicuous way, thus undermining seriously the credibility of the court itself, in particular that of Charles II but perhaps also of royalty in general. This Roman imperial court might indeed be a satirical representation of the court of Charles II, which carried a reputation of debauchery, but that form of critique is perhaps too obvious, even when this reading is attractive.[4] The position of Wilmot as the most notorious member of George Villiers's 'cabal' of libertine courtiers adds to the ambiguity of this moralistic dramaturgical choice – moralistic at first sight. It raises different questions about the changed function of theatricality under the Restoration regime.

More fundamentally, *Lucina's Rape* might be symptomatic of the political role libertinism – as an attitude and as a (philosophical) state of mind – played at the moment when English governance moved away from theatrical vehicles for declaring its traditional legitimacy, and from staging magnificence as a splendorous display of generosity toward its subjects. The political system, including its (performed) discourse, develops, during the second half of the seventeenth century, in the direction of political, partisan opposition between Tories and Whigs, between attachment to divine kingship and anticipation of a constitutional regime – the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Libertinism exposes the ambiguities of this development. Without claiming thoroughly to reinterpret libertine theatricality in the latter years of a superseded regime, I will try to contextualise this revealing situation, wherein ingredients of the

3 Byrne P., "'Where Appetite Directs': Tragic Heroism's Recovery in Rochester's *Valentinian*", *Pacific Coast Philology* 40 (2005) 158–177.

4 Wilson J.H., "Rochester's *Valentinian* and Heroic Sentiment", *English Literary History* 4 (1937) 265–273.

court masque, revenge tragedy, heroic *Trauerspiel*, and comedy of manners so strangely meet.

What kind of 'structures of feeling' – patterns of cultural expression not (yet) fixed as a hegemonic (or heterodox) discourse, as Raymond Williams defines this term[5] – underlie this particular conspicuousness or spectacularism of political power? Does Wilmot's equivocally heroic drama imitate or pervert this 'official' magnificence, more specifically with the presence of rape, the crux of his dramaturgy? It is by the mimesis of this act, in all its criminal cruelty, that the unperceived and surreptitious relations of power, especially in their affective patterns, are articulated.

My attempt to clarify the generic specificity of a drama such as *Lucina's Rape* in relation to revenge tragedy and court masque might seem futile or pointless, but it may help to elucidate the typically seventeenth-century relationship – Jacobean (1567–1625) or Caroline (1625–1642) – between politics and spectacle and to redefine this type of magnificence. An overview of the use of rape in seventeenth-century discourse, in political activism and in drama, provides a necessary context for my discussion. In closing, I shall examine the connection between this dramaturgical *exemplum* and libertinism as a political-philosophical way of thinking, a subversion of magnificence as a public virtue. Or to put it differently, the 'deconstructive' gesture of Wilmot's *Lucina's Rape* exemplifies how the antique virtue of magnificence, rediscovered in the Renaissance and redefined in the Stuart masque as a complementary relation among outward splendour, generosity of the rich, and the affirmation of sovereign legitimacy, loses its cultural (and ethical) cohesion at the dawn of the seventeenth century.

1 Masque and Heroic Drama in the Restoration

Is the court masque, as developed under the Stuart dynasty in the early seventeenth century, an ideological machine comparable to the royal spectacle seen under the reign of the French *roi soleil* Louis XIV, and thus focused on a dematerialized kingship rooted in divine right? Or was it a performative vehicle meant to contain actual discussions on both the fundamentals and the execution of a slowly secularizing monarchic regime, and thus, to a limited extent, a space for debate and even critique on the balance of power?[6] The discussion

5 Williams R., *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford / New York: 1977) 128–135.

6 Knowles J., *Politics and Political Culture in the Court Masque* (Houndmills – New York: 2015) 1–3.

between historians is ongoing, and the risk with any assessment is the tendency to see the glorification of kingship – always present in the masque – from the perspective of later events, catastrophic or not: the English Civil War between 1642 and 1651, the decline of absolute kingship during the Restoration after 1660, the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

At issue is whether the masque, as a genre, is actually a manifestation of magnificence in the (post-)Aristotelian sense. Conceived as a virtue, magnificence had indeed undergone a serious shift of meaning in the previous centuries. Aristotle's definition of magnificence as 'fitting expenditure involving largeness of scale' is definitely a moral virtue and, more than that, his qualification of the magnificent man as an artist suggests an aesthetic dimension.[7] But to recognize magnificence as an actual virtue, and in order to avoid dismissing it as an allegedly elitist bonus for the virtuous rich, it should be contextualised. The context is that of a political community, and the magnificent expenditures should contribute to the republican quality of that community: liturgies, civic ceremonials, and the like. Magnificence is a part of the 'social contract', an element in the reciprocal obligations between citizens and state.[8] A shift in meaning took place during the Middle Ages, when Aquinas reread Aristotle and concluded that expenditure for divine worship was the most commendable expression of magnificence. But this did not mean that the rich patrons were enjoined to spend exclusively on religious events, objects, and buildings: the conspicuousness (the performativity) of this virtue became a central motive, especially for secular patrons of architecture such as the Visconti in Milan and the Medici in Florence.[9]

When the Tudor dynasty, during the sixteenth century, increased the performative qualities of its sovereignty in a visual (theatrical) form, the republican element of this redefined magnificence, insofar as it persisted, became almost invisible, as the official ideology of the monarchy became ever more absolutist. Ironically, the masque, arguably the most theatrical form of political magnificence at the Stuart court (1603–1714), gained in conspicuousness by rivalrous connection with the civic ceremonies of the Lord Mayor of London, his 'Lord Mayor's Shows'. The commercial companies that constituted the power base of the latter were equally essential for the economic well-being of the Stuart

7 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA – London: 1926) IV.2, 204–207.

8 Athanassoulis N., "A Defence of the Aristotelian Virtue of Magnificence", *The Journal of Value Inquiry* 50 (2016) 781–795.

9 Williamson B., "How Magnificent Was Medieval Art?", in Jaeger C.S. (ed.), *Magnificence and the Sublime in Medieval Aesthetics. Arts, Architecture, Literature, Music* (New York: 2010) 250–252.

monarchy, and thus for its ability to stage the court masques. The teleological aspect of Aristotle's virtue – its orientation toward a virtuous end – belonged to the Stuart concept of magnificence, in that the masque focused on the affirmation of royal sovereignty.[10]

The origins of the English 'masque' – playwright Ben Jonson gave the genre its French name, thus acknowledging its French-Italian roots – are to be found in festive welcoming rituals for noble visitors at the court of Burgundy, known for its elaborate protocol. These events were imitated by Henry VII, founder of the Tudor dynasty in 1485, and by the courts of the Medici in Florence and Paris, among others.[11] During the Tudor era, masques became an integral part of English court culture, but it was the fruitful collaboration between Ben Jonson and architect and scenographer Inigo Jones, between 1604 and 1634, that (re)defined the masque as an artistic genre, ultimately leading to the development of the (semi-)operas of Henry Purcell later in the century. Courtiers and royals participated in the choreographed parts, but for singing and acting, professionals were hired. The essential formal elements of the Stuart masques in the Jacobean and Caroline eras were a spectacular theatricality defined by an abundant use of dance, music, costumes, scenic machinery and, of course, masks; the playscript tended to be short and superficial, with an allegorical plot staffed by idealized characters. The political motivation and contextualisation originated with the producer/presenter. The courtly audience participated in the performance by embodying these idealized figures and by joining in the revels, the choreographed part, which culminated in the glorification of the king and the queen. The distribution of the roles also represented the hierarchy of influence within the royal court.[12]

During the heyday of the masque, Ben Jonson, one of the few playwrights to take the genre seriously, contrasted the panegyric parts with a so-called antimasque, a representation of the universe that was seen to threaten the order symbolized by the royal spectacle. The exaggeration on both sides – lavish order and dreadful disorder – made the case for the legitimacy of the Stuart monarchy as a divine right.[13] Ben Jonson, in a notorious quarrel with architect

10 Wright N.E., "'Rivalry Traditions': Civic and Courtly ceremonies in Jacobean London", in Bevington D. – Holbrook P. (eds.), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque* (Cambridge: 1998) 198–199.

11 Ravelhofer, B., *The Early Stuart Masque. Dance, Costume, and Music* (Oxford: 2006) 20 and passim.

12 Barroll L., "Inventing the Stuart masque", in Bevington D. – Holbrook P. (eds.), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque* (Cambridge: 1998) 126–127.

13 Klein Maguire N., *Regicide and Restoration. English Tragicomedy, 1660–1671* (Cambridge: 1992) 84–85.

Inigo Jones, who became famous for his elaborate scenographies, insisted on the balance between 'present occasions' (or contingencies) and 'removed mysteries' (or mythifications), arguing that whereas the 'soul' of the masque should make these contingencies understandable – in the way that the meaning of a politically inspired royal wedding becomes discernible – the 'show', the imagery and the mystery, produce an ephemeral experience that appeals to the senses.[14] After 1625, with king Charles I on the throne, the connection between court masque and the institutions of government became even closer, and the space for subtle critique almost vanished. Jonson's attempts to integrate critical but loyal counsel in the framework of the masque, under conditions that increasingly obliged its creators to praise the king, began to prove counterproductive, when tension between court and parliament grew in the 1630s.

The early Stuart masque, between James I's ascension in 1604 and his death in 1625, had been a platform for subtle and courtly debate between competing policies. The Anglo-Spanish Treaty (1605) was a major political event that caused a serious discussion between three factions/tendencies: principled pacifists (James I himself, as it happens), those who remained suspicious about Catholic monarchies in general (the former court of Elizabeth I), and crypto-Catholics eager on pleasing Spain (the queen consort, Anna of Denmark). Samuel Daniel's masque *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1604), commissioned by Queen Anna, disguised military preparedness, Elizabethan style, as a message of assertive pacifism. In contrast with Daniel's masque, Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Queens* (1609), also commissioned by the queen, was overtly pacifist and more pro-Spanish than the king would have tolerated: but the magnificence of the masque was indeed the queen consort's domain; she oversaw narrative, dramaturgy and scenic display.[15] This large 'wingspan' of opinion observable in the queen's masques – even when disguised by its utter sumptuousness and by obvious tokens of her personal political ambition – was short-livened, however; it disappeared with James I's death.[16]

The last (Caroline) masque before the civil war, *Salmacida Spolia* (1640), written by poet laureate William Davenant and staged by Inigo Jones, presented the king as a figure of patience and conciliation; but this pose of humility is 'hedged around' everywhere with contradictory emphases on his power. The dialectics between masque and antimasque – Ben Jonson's signature – became

14 Gordon D.J., "Poet and Architect: The Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 12 (1949) 155.

15 Holbrook P., "Jacobean Masques and the Jacobean Peace", in Bevington D. – Holbrook P. (eds.), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque* (Cambridge, 1998) 75–80.

16 Barroll, "Inventing the Stuart masque".

impossible under the domination of Caroline ideology, and the genre itself moved to the fringes of the court.[17] Speaking without irony, one might construe the execution of king Charles I in 1649 as the ultimate, radically archetypical Stuart masque: Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector, staged the act, and Charles I himself chose carefully his costume, preparing for his future status as the 'royal martyr'.[18]

After the Restoration in 1660, the newly enthroned Charles II, undoubtedly impressed by the theatricality under the French regime of his nephew Louis XIV, tried to revive the genre and even augment its magnificence, albeit chiefly the element of conspicuous liberality. The most spectacular example of that effort was John Crowne's *Calisto, the Chaste Nymph* of 1675, produced at a moment when his libertine court manners – and his political choices, perceived complementary to his manners – were already being seriously criticized. *Calisto* cost a gigantic sum, and it featured the royal princesses Mary and Anne, the king's bastard son James Scott, Duke of Monmouth, a later rival to Charles II's brother and successor James II, and many famous courtiers and actors. The performance, a loosely structured and not very original allegory of a mythical England with the river Thames in a leading role, was very successful, partly due to the fact that Charles II had hired renowned choreographers and musicians in France.

But another experiment on this scale wasn't an option for the indigent Stuart court.[19] The medium for political magnificence had moved from the masque to other genres, especially to heroic drama, where a different balance between spectacle and intellectual (constitutional) content and rhetoric text came about. An exemplary heroic drama – in which the genres tragedy and romance intermingle – *Almanzor and Almahide, or the Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards* by John Dryden, Davenant's successor as poet laureate, was an important vehicle for disseminating the political paradigm of authority embraced by the Restoration monarchy. The multiple plot of *The Conquest of Granada*, first performed in 1670, takes place at the end of the Catholic *Reconquista* of al-Andalucía, in the late fifteenth century. Romantic intrigues on the Moorish side, including *Romeo and Juliet*-like clan rivalries, reveal ambivalent if not contradictory statements about monarchic legitimacy. Susan Staves summarizes them: 'The possessor of the best legal title to the throne

17 Butler M., "Reform or Reverence? The Politics of the Caroline Masque", in Mulryne J.R. – Shewring M. (eds.), *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge: 1993) 123.

18 Klein Maguire, *Regicide and Restoration* 20–21.

19 Walkling A.R., "Masque and Politics at the Restoration Court: John Crowne's *Calisto*", *Early Music* 24 (1996) 52.

is identical to the mythical natural law sovereign who best dispenses justice, who listens sympathetically to the genuine grievances of his subjects, and who never forces them to choose between their obedience to him and their own integrity'.[20] *The Conquest of Granada* obtained notoriety for different reasons. In the printed version, Dryden included the essay *Of Heroic Plays*, defining the 'new' genre of 'heroic drama' as a theatrical translation of epic poetry, both in form (closed couplets in iambic pentameter) and in tendency (a dominating and unconditional hero).[21]

This dramaturgy tries to reconcile a masque-like spectacle with a clear political and even philosophical text and subtext, mainly drawn from a mainstream version of Thomas Hobbes's ideas as applied to Dryden's England. The affective framework for his heroic romance is fear for the 'state of nature', although even Dryden, a most loyal royalist, was attacked simply for showing this zero degree of human civilization.[22] And *The Conquest of Granada* displays a notion of naked power, with the verses of the villain-queen Lyndaraxa as its baseline:

> A King is he whom nothing can withstand
> Who men and money can with ease command
> A King is he whom fortune still does bless:
> He is a King, who does a Crown possess.[23]

During the play, competing ideas of kingship scroll by; there are five successive sovereigns in command during this drama of ten acts, concluding with the reconquering Catholic king Ferdinand, who embodies an impossible combination of pragmatism and divine right. The merger of masque-inspired heroic (or antiheroic) figures and the interest in the (psychological) development of these same characters proves difficult to maintain, if not irreconcilable.[24]

It might be argued that this contradiction runs parallel with an evolution of magnificence as a virtue during the Baroque, with a shift from abundance to interiorization: magnificence touches on sensibility, it leads to the sublime.[25]

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20 Staves S., *Players' Scepters. Fictions of Authority in the Restoration* (Lincoln – London: 1979) 66.

21 Dryden John, "Almanzor and Almahide, or the Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards", 1670, available from Project Gutenberg, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/15349/15349-h/15349-h.htm (accessed: 5.7.2020).

22 Skinner Q., "The Ideological Context of Hobbes's Political Thought", *The Historical Journal* 9 (1966) 299.

23 Dryden, *Almanzor* V.1.41–44.

24 Klein Maguire, *Regicide and Restoration* 210.

25 Maravall J.A., *Culture of the Baroque. Analysis of a Historical Structure* (Minneapolis, 1986) 212–213.

This could also explain the popularity of *The Conquest of Granada* as an object of satire and pastiche, most notoriously in *The Rehearsal* by Georges Villiers, who like most of fellow playwrights was an influential courtier.[26] *The Rehearsal* stages a failed attempt to create a superlative heroic drama out of excerpts from other works, mainly paraphrasing Dryden's drama. The abundance of claimants to a multiplicity of thrones, in what almost comes down to a chorus line of royalty, points in all its wit to the legitimacy of any political ambition, but also to the corresponding loyalty and obligation expected from any royal subject.

Villiers's ambiance of nihilistic sovereignty comes close indeed to Wilmot's *Lucina's Rape*; the cracks in the apparatus of magnificence become visible. His conspicuously redefined version of Aristotelian virtue is undermined by a double challenge: the aforementioned shift toward interiorization/sublimation, and the growing tendency toward governmental accountability, the latter implying a different legitimation of the sovereign.

2 The Theme of Rape in Propaganda and Drama

In literature in general, and more specifically in drama and theatre, the profound change of attitudes toward magnificence in England during the last half of the seventeenth century resonates allegorically through the connected themes of violence and sexuality. The omnipresence of sexual violence in the theatre even prompted the eighteenth-century dramatist John Dennis to wonder why female spectators would 'sit quietly and passively at the relation of a rape in a tragedy, as they thought that ravishing gave them pleasure'.[27] The seventeenth century produced a lot of printed material in which the rapist functions as a stock figure, a stereotype associated with contemporary enemies such as the perverted Jesuit, the demonic Irishman, or the debauched Cavalier. The stage was simply another place to demonize Catholic attempts to reinstall papal power; but during the Restoration similar atrocities figured in stories and hearsay meant to face the fear of a return of Oliver Cromwell's regime. A link has been posited with the acceptance in 1660 of actresses on the public stage, but scenes of rape were not enacted on stage until ten years later, and nor is it evident how the presence of attractive female actors turns rape into a

26 Villiers Georges, Second Duke of Buckingham, *The Rehearsal* (London: 1672; reprint, Stratford-upon-Avon: 1914).

27 Airey J.L., *The Politics of Rape. Sexual Atrocity, Propaganda Wars, and the Restoration Stage* (Lanham: 2012) 6.

source of (male) erotic fantasy.[28] The general climate of social and economic uncertainty of that era, in the combination of secularization and early capitalism, offers a more comprehensive explanation.

The Latin root, *rapere*, of the English 'rape' means 'to seize'; rape was originally a property crime, an offense against what belonged to a man – a husband or another custodian. In early medieval law, rape was an assault on a patriarchal estate and not a crime against an individual's will.[29] This normative (and discursive) construction remained fundamentally unchallenged during the Renaissance. In Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, Bassanio's seizure of Lavinia from Saturninus is qualified as rape, as the emperor exclaims: 'Traitor, if Rome shall have law or we have power, / Thou and thy faction shall repent this rape'.[30] Bassanio has stolen Lavinia from her guardian, but he has not ravished her; 'rape' denotes the disruption of a property relationship, a form of theft. But at a later stage in the play, the actual rape and mutilation of Lavinia is considered a crime against the person of Lavinia, thus mirroring the Elizabethan redefinition of sexual violence as a personal assault against a woman, although jurisdictional practice would follow only decades later.

The shift toward our contemporary notion of rape as the most intimate violation of human integrity continued to evolve in Restoration rhetoric. Rape, as an act, was seen as a symptom of disempowerment; the threat with rape was the weapon of the usurper, and the consummation of his lust justified his eventual annihilation. Viewed in this way, rape operates less as trauma for the victim, and functions more as an allegory of the threat to legitimate (patriarchal) power structures. The female body doesn't stand for itself, but for the sufferings of the nation.[31] The Roman legends, derived from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (the rape of Philomela) and from Livy's *Ab urbe condita* (the rape of Lucretia), were particular inspirations to Elizabethan literature. They combined the traumatic experience of women and the political meaning of violent sexual transgression: in both stories the acts of rape anticipate regime change.

Shakespeare's *Lucrece* is exemplary in this respect. The focus in this poem is clearly on the victim and her fate, on the stain – a recurring metaphor – that marks her, a married patrician woman.[32] But at the same time, the chastity of Lucrece functions as an asset in the marketplace of desire – legally protected

28 Marsden J., "Rape, Voyeurism and the Restoration Stage", in Quinsey K.M. (ed.), *Broken Boundaries: Women & Feminism in Restoration Drama* (Lexington: 1996) 185–200.

29 Airey, *Politics of Rape* 9.

30 Shakespeare William, *Titus Andronicus,* The Arden Shakespeare (London: 1594; reprint, London – New York: 1953) 1.1.408–409.

31 Airey, *Politics of Rape* 12.

32 Kahn C., "The Rape in Shakespeare's *Lucrece*", *Shakespeare Studies* 9 (1976) 46–48.

by marriage, but with a plus-value in that it elicits the desire of other males – and so it becomes an element of sexual politics.[33] The stain of Lucrece, even when she expresses her trauma in the most eloquent and passionate way, continues to refer to the political abuse of the Tarquin dynasty. The act of rape confirms, symbolically, the patriarchal order. With his focus on the developing subjectivity of Lucrece, Shakespeare questions the equation of the private legal status of women – as the property of their guardians, as an asset in the market of power relations – and their public legal status – as a token for a well-ordered commonwealth. Lucrece understands perfectly the importance of her chastity in this unstable society, and she consequently refuses to continue in her function as a human cornerstone without a claim on autonomous integrity: 'No dame hereafter living / Shall claim excuses by my excuse's giving.'[34] By killing herself, she becomes dangerous indeed, and Tarquin's version of patriarchy begins to fall apart. The stain of suicide obscures the stain of rape, in the logic of sexual politics; it is a gesture close to Antigone's, aimed at restoring honour as a societal value, and executed in full awareness of its devastating effect on the political regime.[35]

But in spite of Shakespeare's subjectivation of rape and suicide in *Lucrece*, the most popular connotation of rape is that of dehumanization of hostile others – Catholics, Irish, Cavaliers, Roundheads. The association with cannibalism and vampirism is conspicuous, mainly in anti-Catholic (Whiggish) propaganda, during Charles II's reign. Poet laureate John Dryden fully participated in this imagery of the hated (foreign) *Other*, but such dramatists Elkanah Settle, Thomas Shadwell, and Aphra Behn also used it to criticize Caroline court culture. In Aphra Behn's *The Rover*, for instance, the image of the royalist Cavalier becomes ambiguous; his romantic chivalry is connected with his violent exploitation of women.[36] This attitude is also reflected in earlier discussions between the unconditional royalist Robert Filmer and the dissident politician Algernon Sidney. Both put the story of Lucrece in the centre of the debate over the limits of monarchical authority, but whereas Sidney asserts that sexual abuse is at the outright limit of legitimacy, Filmer continues to claim that rebellion is always worse than rape.

Wilmot's *Lucina's Rape* contributes to this polarized discussion by digging into the traumatic experiences of both the sexual 'monster' and the victim of

33 Ibidem, 52–53.

34 Shakespeare William, "Lucrece", in Shakespeare William, *The Poems*, The Arden Shakespeare (London: 1594; reprint, London – New York: 1960) 1714–1715.

35 Kahn, "The Rape in Shakespeare's *Lucrece*" 64–65.

36 Airey, *The Politics of Rape* 22–23.

the rapist – as well as into the (metatheatrical) connotations of the theatrical stage on which they express their experience of displacement. Sexual violence, in its cultural and particularly theatrical representations, is in every respect the opposite of magnificence: it is the dark side of the theatre of 'happiness' and sovereign dignity that the masque is meant performatively to construct. And as Wilmot's *Lucina's Rape* demonstrates, the real perversion lies in the fact that rape is shown to be an 'innocent' ingredient of the masque, thus exposing its profound ambiguity if not hypocrisy. This constituted a deadly blow to the high status of the Stuart masque, and to its function of exemplifying, especially in the Ben Jonson-Inigo Jones version, the magnificence of the English regime; after all, the genre was first and foremost an instrument for justifying the 'divine right of kings' and legitimizing the royal regime.

3 Masque and Tragedy in *Lucina's Rape*

Rape serves indisputably as a major rhetorical and performative *topos* for republicanism in the seventeenth century, and more specifically through reference to classical Roman narratives. Rape is considered the ultimate abuse of sovereign power: as the antipode of magnificence, it always raises fundamental issues about the political regime as such.[37] Whereas the theatricality of the appearance of the king is in itself a demonstration of magnificence and, consequently, of legitimate sovereignty, theatricalized rape renders this demonstration invalid in Wilmot's eyes. The open references of Lucina's entourage to the story of Lucrece transform the historical episode, set in a threatened Western Roman Empire (the Vandals sacked Rome under Valentinian's successor Maximus), into another version of the canonical story about the end of Roman monarchy and its conspicuous magnificence, a version more relevant to both Renaissance and Restoration audiences.

In Fletcher's version, based upon the chronicles of the Byzantine historian Procopius, the waning Roman empire becomes the perfect stage to show the untenable tension between the sovereign's divine right – a notion that, *pace* the term 'divine', is more secular than religious – and the administration of justice based on common law and the principle of equity. The hellish circularity of political power – tyranny leads to tyrannicide leads to tyranny, in a circular course of action typical of the 'normative' revenge tragedy – precludes any political solution in a republican sense. A reformed notion of sovereignty

37 Sanchez M.E., "Sex and Sovereignty in Rochester's Writing", in Augustine M.C. – Zwicker S.N. (eds.), *Lord Rochester in the Restoration World* (Cambridge: 2015) 188.

turns out to be unthinkable after James I's famous treatise on the divine right of kings.[38] The sacred connotations of officially sanctioned magnificence, as embodied in the Stuart masque and strengthened by Jonson's antimasque, fail once a different political paradigm, philosophically expressed in Hobbes' contractualism and triggered by the English Civil War, starts to trickle down into a society discursively structured along partisan lines. This is exactly what happened during the Restoration, with John Wilmot as a privileged witness.

A closer look at the central scenes in Wilmot's *Lucina's Rape* – in the original version by Wilmot, not included in Fletcher's version – reveals that he did more than simply revisit a traditional genre, namely, the revenge tragedy. In the third act, after the umpteenth complaint of Valentinian about Lucina's stoic refusals, her ladies in waiting engage in a remarkable discussion. In a conversation about the savagery (of men) and the delusions of reason and honour, Claudia and Marcellina echo Wilmot's most radical poem, *A Satire against Reason and Mankind*. Marcellina says:

> Prithee reform. What Nature prompts us to
> And Reason seconds, why should we avoid?
> This Honour is the veriest Mountebank.
> It fits our fancies with affected Tricks
> And makes us freakish, what a cheat must that bee
> Which robs our lives of all their softer hours?[39]

In *A Satire*, Wilmot writes:

> My Reason is my friend. Yours is a cheat,
> Hunger calls out, my Reason bids me eat;
> Perversely, yours your appetites does mock,
> They ask for food, that answers what's a clock
> [...]
> For all men would be cowards if they durst.[40]

The paradoxical remarks of the ladies in waiting not only undermine the order of nature and reason on which any political and social regime must in one

38 Hila M., "'Justice shall never heare ye, I am justice': Absolutist Rape and Cyclical History in John Fletcher's *The Tragedy of Valentinian*", *Neophilologus* 91 (2007) 745–758.

39 Wilmot John, *The Tragedy of Valentinian or Lucina's Rape* (London: 1685; reprint, London: 1993) III.3.54–59.

40 Wilmot John, *A Satire Against Mankind* (London: 1674; reprint, London: 1993) 106–109, 158.

way or another rely, as Wilmot elaborately shows in *A Satire*. The very idea of reason is deconstructed, by opposing ambiguous sexual politics with the ideals of a commonwealth, based upon rational principles. The dialogue of the ladies defends the primacy of desire, and it also anticipates, almost nihilistically, the fate of Lucina, who actually happens to interrupt this conversation.[41]

Another example: 'And swayed by rules not natural but affected, / I hate mankind for fear of being loved'.[42] Here Wilmot subtly evokes the central sadistic paradox of libertinism itself, its inability to reconcile conspicuous splendour – the perverse residual value of magnificence in court life, comprising the violence of intolerance or tyranny – with an affective life based upon unrestrained 'natural' desire, a thought succinctly expressed in the poem *The Imperfect Enjoyment*. The poem, at first reading, appears merely to describe premature ejaculation, but also operates as an allegory about political impotence.[43]

In the next scenes of *Lucina's Rape*, two developments take place, both anticipating the tragedies to follow (Wilmot uses the rhetorical device of prolepsis abundantly, in its 'flash forward' form). First, there is the rising atmosphere of mutiny among the army officers, whose military duty is obstructed by the debauchery of Valentinian's court. Aëcius represents the strict Filmerian point of view, which views rebellion as opening of the gates of hell, whereas Maximus and others cross the red line. Second, there is the staging of the act of rape by the so-called 'bawds' in Valentinian's entourage. Parallel to the trickster court that invites Lucina into the emperor's chamber, a group of dancers and singers prepare a masque, clearly meant to suppress the sounds of sexual violence:

> [Valentinian:] About it straight. 'Twill serve to draw away
> Those listening fools, who trace it in the Gallery;
> And if by chance odd noises should be heard,
> As womens shrieks or so, say 'tis a play
> Is practising within.
> [Lycinius:] The Rape of Lucrece
> Or some such merry prank. – It shall be done, sir.
> [Valentinian:] 'Tis nobler like a lion to invade

41 Fisher N., "Mending what Fletcher Wrote: Rochester's Reworking of Fletcher's *Valentinian*", *Script & Print* 33 (2009) 61–75.

42 Wilmot, *The Tragedy of Valentinian or Lucina's Rape* III.3.51–52.

43 Wilmot, *A Satire Against Mankind*; Combe K., *A Martyr for Sin. Rochester's Critique of Polity, Sexuality, and Society* (Newark: 1998) 118–121.

Where appetite directs, and seize my prey,
Than to wait tamely like a begging dog,
Till dull content throws out the scraps of love.[44]

In referring to Lucrece, the courtier Lycinius reveals his awareness of the violence about to happen.

Wilmot does not stage a full-fledged masque that would justify, quite cynically, the acts behind the scenes. Instead he exploits the aesthetic and ideological expectations of the court masque, by intertwining a dramaturgy of heroic tragedy (though it is never clear who the hero might be) with the metatheatrical devices of rehearsal in music and dance. This dramaturgy is not entirely novel: heroic drama often included genre quotations, most famously in Elkanah Settle's 'horrific tragedy' *The Empress of Morocco* (1673), which incorporates a masque about Orpheus and Euridice, staged at the imaginary court, with extremely violent scenes of torture.[45] But whereas *The Empress of Morocco* relies uniquely upon spectacular sumptuousness, as *The Conquest of Granada* did earlier, Wilmot's version of heroic drama is imperfect, the sets are under construction, the dancers are desperate, their movements futile. The pain of the dancer echoes, but very insufficiently, Lucina's pain in the emperor's chambers. The political consequences of the act become immediately clear as the courtiers, again in a proleptic move, express the clear connection between rape and disempowerment, as formerly occurred in the case of Lucrece:

[Proculus:] If there be any justice, we are villains,
And must be so rewarded.
[Lycinius:] Since 'tis done,
I take it is not time now to repent it.
Let's make the best of our trade.[46]

When in the next scene Lucina demands justice, Valentinian answers with the infamous line, 'Justice will never hear you. I am Justice'.[47] Two major miscalculations are revealed in these improvised settlements of Lucina's rape. The commodification of her chastity proves to be a failure; she has lost all positive value in the market of sexual politics. But even worse politically is the loss of

44 Wilmot, *The Tragedy of Valentinian or Lucina's Rape* IV.1.231–241.
45 Marsden J.I., "Spectacle, horror, and pathos" in Payne Fisk D. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre* (Cambridge: 2005) 177.
46 Wilmot, *The Tragedy of Valentinian or Lucina's Rape* IV.2.29–33.
47 Ibidem, IV.3.5.

the emperor's legitimacy: his identification with justice is shown to be a completely worn-out medieval idea that makes Valentinian a caricature of rule by divine right. Whereas Fletcher could save this 'slip of the tongue' by compensating for it with Maximus' 'satanic' rebellion, Wilmot does not forgive; he even forces the emperor to kill with his own hand the all-too-loyal but exhausted general Aëcius.

There might exist an analogy between Wilmot's libertinism as a philosophy and Thomas Hobbes's concept of the 'state of nature'. Hobbes's 'natural condition' functions as the (philosophical) clean slate onto which, for *a posteriori* justification, conditions for a contract-based sovereignty could be projected.[48] In the same way, libertinism serves for Wilmot as both a fairy tale and a nightmare that contains all possible anxieties about the impact of sovereignty and governance. Nature is intrinsically neither good nor bad, and desire is not something one should always surrender to, which is to say that Wilmot is not an anti-nomist or a sadist; libertinism should be the ultimate 'benchmark' whereby political regimes, including the Stuart court where Wilmot indulged himself, are assessed. His philosophy could be qualified as 'materialist', for he substantially distrusts reason as a humanist ideal, even though he is fully aware that the concept of 'nature' is likewise a construct of the mind.[49] But his experience of 'magnificent' theatricality, used by the courtly regime to rid itself of the collateral damage caused by its 'divine' pretensions, filled him with disgust – the execution of Algernon Sidney in 1683 being a painful landmark. He seems to observe in this political spectacle an alarming transgression of the boundary between magnificence and astonishment; although it is arguable that these liminal conditions precisely characterize Baroque culture,[50] the scaffold is off limits. Hence his deconstruction of theatricality and magnificence in *Lucina's Rape*.

Wilmot uses the trope of (theatricalized) sexual violence as a 'structure of feeling' in Raymond Williams' sense, as an antidote against this theatrical magnificence, now shown to be poisonous and politically counterproductive. Starting perhaps with Shakespeare's *Lucrece*, the representation of sexual violence becomes an emotionally effective way to structure discontent about the reactionary 'divine' justifications of actually repressive government. Until this disenchantment reaches the court itself, with Wilmot, Second Earl of

48 Tindemans K., "Nature, Desire, and the Law: On Libertinism and Modern Legal Theory", *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 12 (2012) 133–145.

49 Byrne P., "'Where Appetite Directs': Tragic Heroism's Recovery in Rochester's *Valentinian*", *Pacific Coast Philology* 40 (2005) 158–177.

50 Maravall J.A., *Culture of the Baroque. Analysis of a Historical Structure* (Minneapolis: 1986) 216.

Rochester, as its prophet. By suggesting the complicity between a magnificent claim of 'divine' sovereignty and sexual violence in *Lucina's Rape*, he subtly subverts magnificence itself, as a political and cultural virtue represented in the Stuart masque. And so, he exemplifies a profound societal, discursive and, eventually, constitutional shift in the not-yet United Kingdom. In 1688, the Glorious Revolution would an end to the Stuart Regime. Although no causality between libertine thought and revolutionary action can be confirmed, a relationship might yet be suggested.

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CHAPTER 16

Magnificence as Aesthetic Category in Court Plays: Molière's *Les Amants Magnifiques* (*The Magnificent Lovers*)

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Until very recently, *Les Amants Magnifiques* (*The Magnificent Lovers* or *The Lavish Lovers* in English), a court play written by Molière, has generated little interest.[1] It was commissioned by Louis XIV for the court's enjoyment[2] and performed on 4 February 1670 at the castle of Saint-Germain-en-Laye.[3] The concept of magnificence is the core idea that binds together the various components of court plays, such as *The Magnificent Lovers*: French court plays give evidence of a theatrical experience relying on drama, music and dance. Such diverse performance practices united in one play can be conveniently joined under the concept of magnificence which seems to have lost its relevance in our contemporary context, where we are seldomly faced with performances of this scale and where their potential commissioners no longer exist. In his *Universal Dictionary*,[4] Furetière defines magnificence as such:

> Magnificence. subst. fém. Vertu qui enseigne à dépenser son bien en choses honorables. La magnificence sied bien aux rois et aux potentats.

1 Some very up to date research is about to be published, as the result of a conference organised by Laura Naudeix and Anne-Madeleine Goulet: *Molière à la cour:* Les Amants Magnifiques *en 1670*, Presses universitaires de Rennes.

2 Louis XIV proposed it to his court for the 1670 carnival under a different title, *Le Divertissement Royal* (*The Royal Entertainment*).

3 It has been staged again for the first time after centuries of neglect in January 2017. The performances took place in the opera houses of Massy and Rennes. It required the collaboration of the Compagnie des Malins Plaisirs, the Compagnie de l'Éventail for the ballet scenes, of the Concert spirituel, the baroque orchestra directed by Hervé Niquet and opera singers.

4 Furetière's dictionary is the most complete one at this time and was the result of years of work. Even though it is published after the premiere of this play, it still closely reflects the language of that time.

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> La magnificence fait subsister le peuple, les ouvriers. La reine de Sabat vint admirer la magnificence de Salomon.[5]
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> Magnificence. fem. noun. Virtue which teaches to spend one's fortune on honourable things. Magnificence is well suited to kings and to the powerful. Magnificence makes the people and the workers thrive. The queen of Sheba came to admire Solomon's magnificence.

In this definition, magnificence has kept its ethical meaning and, in line with its Graeco-Roman origins, denotes a virtue best practiced by the wealthy and those who spend to achieve admirable things and grandeur. We can also perceive in this definition how magnificence is linked to the necessary presence of an audience who can appreciate it and admire the person performing magnificence. The dramatic text and the circumstances of representation are very deeply connected in court plays, even more so, as we shall see, in *The Magnificent Lovers*. Indeed, this court play, like many others but more perfectly than they, creates a mirror effect and a form of complicity with an aristocratic public whose wealth, position and language are celebrated.

Moreover, in *The Magnificent* Lovers, magnificence is directly addressed, as a topic: it defines what court plays are and distinguishes them from the rest of seventeenth-century theatre. The theatricality of this court play also gives a broad meaning to magnificence, encompassing both aesthetic and political goals. Other court plays dramatize magnificence as an explicit topic as well – *La Princesse d'Élide* (*The Princess of Elid*), for instance – but none does so with as much accuracy and depth as *The Magnificent Lovers* because, as we will make apparent, it represents a theatre within a theatre, directly mirroring the audience on the stage. In this regard, the play has both a paradigmatic and an exceptional status within the court play genre. *The Magnificent Lovers* enhances the theatrical illusion and transposes the gallant and aristocratic context of the palace theatre in Saint-Germain-en-Laye directly onto the stage, into the Greek Vale of Tempe.[6] This makes it the perfect example of magnificence as the meeting point between the play, its plot, and its audience.

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5 Furetière A., *Dictionnaire universel contenant généralement tous les mots français tant vieux que modernes et les termes de toutes les sciences et des arts* (Rotterdam: 1690) 512, translation by the author.

6 The gallant aspect of aristocratic culture and literature encompasses the taste for debates about love, its compatibility with marriage and the development of complex and long love intrigues, often in a Greek setting. For more insight into the gallant culture, see A. Viala, *La France galante* (Paris: 2008).

When it comes to Louis XIV and his court, art and representation are always political. Therefore, *The Magnificent Lovers* also reveals the intricate relationships between court plays, the social group they represent, and the inspirational power that drives them. The scene, here, re-enacts and reinterprets the grandeur of the king's persona and the splendour of his court. But it also differs from most other court plays, since it is the first one in which the king did not dance: after the first performance, he asked to be replaced, passing on the parts of Neptune and Apollo. Far from being insignificant, this choice and its impact on the understanding of royal magnificence will deserve our attention and adds to the complexity and interest of the play.

We will first examine the use of the word magnificence in the play as a guideline for the interpretation of the play: magnificence becomes a guide to understand this play in particular and other court plays by extension, a term used by the characters to provoke and anticipate the audiences's reaction to the play. It stands as a criterion that separates the court plays from the other theatrical productions and is particularly highlighted by the plot of *The Magnificent Lovers*. From this perspective, magnificence consists in bringing together multiple art forms on the stage: that is what really sets court plays apart. This initial discussion will lead us to examine how the structure of the play and the theatre within a theatre make magnificence the main aesthetic and political value of this play and, by extrapolation, of its genre: magnificence is also the lens through which to view correlation between the play's artistic aspirations of this play and its social and political implications in the context of an absolute monarchy and an aristocracy whose power was fading away. It will be necessary to consider how magnificence gains autonomy as a specific literary feature throughout the play and because of its peculiar circumstances of representation, that is the absence of the king from the stage. This evolution of the concept and of its impact on the audience brings out all the relevance of such a play to the study of magnificence, and sheds light on the multiple functions of courtly performance and entertainment.

1 Magnificence as a Defining Criterion and an Interpretative Guideline

The plot is rather simple. Two noble men compete to win over the heart of a young lady, whose name is Ériphile, and, to do so, arrange many different performances over the course of a single day within a pastoral and gallant setting. The play starts with one of these performances, a sea ballet, followed by the first act during which everybody wonders whom the princess will choose as

her husband. Meanwhile Sostrate, Ériphile's silent but passionate suitor, is in despair because he cannot compete on a par with the magnificent lovers, since he is not a nobleman. A second interlude shows mimes dancing in front of the princess. In the second act, Clitidas, a member of the court, tries to understand Ériphile's intentions and Sostrate is, despite his protest, sent by Aristione, Ériphile's mother, to find out what prince her daughter will chose. The third interlude, which is the longest one, provides the audience with a delightful pastoral play in a woodland setting. After this entertainment, the protagonists push Ériphile to make a decision and engage in a debate about astrology. The fourth interlude has eight statues dancing on stage in a grotto, in front of which Aristione and Ériphile are almost fooled by the astrologer and one of the lovers. Then, Sostrate and Ériphile confess their mutual love. Dancing mimes come back on stage, and the last act encompasses several events that reveal Sostrate to be the most suitable husband for Ériphile. The characters then watch and enjoy the final entertainment of the day, the Pythian games, in the sixth interlude.

Magnificence is thematised through explicit references to the stage and by the use of a very redundant lexical field at the beginning of the play. The word 'magnificence' itself, used in the singular or the plural, occurs five times in the first two acts. In the French text, it often replaces the word 'performance' or 'spectacle', whether the character is speaking about this particular performance (like Sostrate) or using magnificence as a term for artistic prowess worthy of awe (like Aristione). Sostrate, who, unlike the magnificent lovers, is forbidden to stage comparable performances, and could never afford to do so, says: 'Je me figure assez sans la voir cette magnificence.'[7] – 'I can imagine the spectacle well enough.'[8] Later, he compares himself with his competitors, 'deux princes qui, par mille et mille magnificences, se disputent à tous moments la gloire de sa conquête'[9] – 'two princes who dispute the glory of winning her [Ériphile] with an unending series of lavish displays'.[10] From the very first scene, magnificence fulfils a double purpose: it qualifies as one of the supreme pleasures of beauty but also serves as a dramatic category.

All these occurrences of the first act comment the opening ballet: the play is indeed framed by two ballets which, in keeping with the court dance tradition,

7 Molière, *Les Amants Magnifiques* [1670], in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. G. Forestier, (Paris: 2010) vol 2, 952. All quotes from the original text are taken from this edition.

8 Molière, *The Lavish Lovers. A Comedy interspersed with Music and Ballet*, trans. D. Edney (Paris: 1670; reprint, Toronto: 2009) 188. This edition will be our reference in terms of translation.

9 Molière, *Les Amants Magnifiques* 954.

10 Molière, *The Lavish Lovers* 191.

are accompanied by instrumental music and lyrics. They are the most ambitious portions of the play in terms of costume and staging, and they very much reveal the specific essence of the French court plays, which employs all the arts. The first ballet is a celebration of the god Neptune, whose part was supposed to be danced by the king. After this ballet, the opening statement of Clitidas addressed to Sostrate sums up the dance and highlights its beauty:

> Mais vous plutôt, que faites-vous ici, et quelle secrète mélancolie, quelle humeur sombre, s'il-vous-plaît, peut vous retenir dans ces bois, tandis que tout le monde a couru en foule à la magnificence de la fête dont l'amour du prince Iphicrate vient de régaler sur la mer la promenade des princesses: tandis qu'elles y ont reçu les cadeaux merveilleux de la musique, et de la danse, et qu'on a vu les rochers et les ondes se parer de divinités pour faire honneur à leurs attraits?[11]

> The question is rather you, what are you doing here? What secret melancholy, what grim mood, pray tell, detained you in these woods while everyone was rushing to the magnificent spectacle prince Iphicrates gave the princesses as a token of his love? They received a feast of music and dance, and the rocks and waves were decked with divinities to do honor to their beauty.[12]

Here not only does the play create a spectacular object, a marvellous performance, it also generates a discourse that fuels a sense of wonder and describes it. Magnificence, in this context, directly refers to love, to the conjunction of the arts ('a feast of music and dance').

This synthesis operates on a wide range of realities. Art forms but also various literary genres come together to achieve a superlative entertainment. The play resorts to court ballets, much like the ones which were danced among the Valois during the Renaissance,[13] but also to pastoral scenes in the third interlude, pantomime (a minimalist type of ballet involving a small group of dancers) and to the comedy of manners. The comedy of manners is a genre that aims at correcting the faults of men and society through comedy, by depicting vices and deriding them. This last type of comedy is best exemplified in the third and fourth acts by the depiction of astrology and the mocking of

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11 Molière, *Les Amants Magnifiques* 951–952.

12 Molière, *The Lavish Lovers* 188.

13 On this topic, see Franko M., *Dance as Text: Ideologies of the Baroque Body* (Cambridge: 1993).

anyone who embraces its predictions. Therefore, the ‘magnificence de la fête’ encompasses a whole array of genres and performances; it is tantamount to a hypernym, capable of comprising the literary and dramatic categories to which the play belongs, as well as the emotions it is supposed to trigger. Magnificence is a defining criterion that qualifies what the play has to offer and the pleasure it promises its audience.

This is mainly possible because of the embedded structure of the plot, which was Louis XIV’s personal choice. The king did not have to look very far to come up with this plot, since it strongly resembles *The Princess of Elid*, a court play performed during the three lavish party days of *Les Plaisirs de l’Île enchantée* (*The Pleasures of the Enchanted Island*) in 1664. The magnificence of the play colludes with the magnificence of the king, insofar as he provides the topic of the play and demands that the artists – the dramatist, the composer and the dancers – make his artistic will come true. This is why the forewords of court plays always insists on acknowledging the king’s will, and *The Magnificent Lovers* being no exception. It emphasises that the imposition of royal order entails the appearance of many art forms on stage, all of which are justified by the plot, the overarching conceit of the theatre within a theatre:

> Le Roi, qui ne veut que des choses extraordinaires dans tout ce qu’il entreprend, s’est proposé de donner à sa cour un divertissement qui fût composé de tous ceux que le théâtre peut fournir; et pour embrasser cette vaste idée, et enchaîner ensemble tant de choses diverses, Sa Majesté a choisi pour sujet deux princes rivaux, qui dans le champêtre séjour de la vallée de Tempé, où l’on doit célébrer la fête des jeux Pythiens, régalent à l’envi une jeune princesse et sa mère, de toutes les galanteries dont ils se peuvent aviser.[14]

> The king, who wishes only what is extraordinary in anything he undertakes, proposed to give his court an entertainment composed of everything that the theatre can offer; to encompass this vast idea and unify so many different things, His Majesty chose for the subject two rival princes, who, in the rustic setting of the Vale of Tempe, where the Pythian Games were to be celebrated, treat a young princess and her mother to all the gallantries they can imagine.[15]

14 Molière, *Les Amants Magnifiques* 946.
15 Molière, *The Lavish Lovers* 181.

This foreword clearly explains how magnificence, defined as the synthetic artistic quality able to encompass a vast spectrum of performance arts and techniques or 'everything that the theatre can offer', is a fully assumed theme of the play, and orients its whole structure towards the finale, the Pythian games overseen by Apollo. These few lines, while explaining the genesis of the play, also make the transfer from the royal magnificence to fictional magnificence clear. The princes almost become a pretext for the play to showcase the king's generosity and artistic taste. Integrating the theatre within a theatre as a part of the plot renews the codes of the court plays and catapults *The Magnificent Lovers* to a new degree of literary autonomy by insisting on the defining role magnificence has to play.[16]

We can thus see that magnificence acts as a programmatic criterion for the play, as a guideline for the audience, shaping which emotions they feel and how they interpret the performance. The most eloquent commentator is Aristione, Ériphile's mother:

> Prince, je ne puis me lasser de le dire, il n'est point de spectacle au monde qui puisse le disputer en magnificence à celui que vous venez de nous donner. Cette fête a eu des ornements, qui l'emportent sans doute sur tout ce qu'on saurait voir, et elle vient de produire à nos yeux quelque chose de si noble, de si grand, et de si majestueux, que le Ciel même ne saurait aller au-delà, et je puis dire assurément qu'il n'y a rien dans l'univers qui s'y puisse égaler.[17]

> Prince, I cannot say it enough, nothing on earth can match the magnificence of the spectacle you have just offered us. Its effects are unsurpassed anywhere; it created something so noble, so great, so majestic that heaven itself could not surpass it, and I can say most definitely that nothing in the universe can equal it.[18]

The hyperbolic tone of this line, with the ternary rhythm enhancing three highly ameliorative adjectives with an intensity adverb, channels the interpretation of the second row of spectators – the king and his court. The characters nearly push the audience into the fiction, and expanding the realm of the stage, while

16 On court plays in general, and comedy-ballets in particular, see Beaussant P. – Bouchenot-Déchin P., *Les Plaisirs de Versailles: Théâtre et musique* (Paris: 1996), Mazouer C., *Molière et ses comédies ballets* (Paris: 2006) and Duron J., *Le Prince et la Musique: les passions Musicales de Louis XIV* (Waver: 2009).

17 Molière, *Les Amants Magnifiques* 955.

18 Molière, *The Lavish Lovers* 191–192.

pointing to magnificence as a core aesthetic value for this royal entertainment. Let us also remember that, at the time, before the adoption of Italian scenography, the presence of spectators on stage allowed for an easier inclusion of the audience into the scenic space.[19] Aristione's words therefore vocalise on stage the sense of awe that is supposed to seize the audience and dissolve the line separating her court from the French aristocrats attending the spectacle. And by praising the fictional princes and their magnificence, the princess also indirectly addresses the ultimate creator of the play, the provider of the play's magnificence, the king. The dramatic principle of double enunciation, according to which a character is constantly addressing both another character and the audience at the same time, takes on a new importance here, since the astonishment and admiration caused by the performance refer, under the veil of theatre within a theatre, to Louis XIV.[20]

So, not only does magnificence consist in encompassing a whole variety of performance types and levels of narration, it also becomes an explicit theme of the play because of its embedded plot. The meta-theatrical comments of the characters enable the structural and thematic insertion of the interludes. This theatre within a theatre does more than give a pretext for the interludes: it directly celebrates the genre and aesthetics of the court play, and indirectly glorifies the magnificence of the king who made such a performance possible.

2 The Anamorphic Design: Magnificence and Love in the Play

The lovers' aim is to seduce Ériphile through the arts and the enchantment cast by the arts. In doing so, they provide the actual audience of *The Magnificent Lovers* with ballets and pastoral scenes which form a *mise en abîme* and double the spectator's pleasure. Hence, magnificence is bound up both with rivalrous love and splendid display. Highlighted by the performative context, 'magnificent' in the play first of all conveys the ability to display, and is highlighted by the context of the performance. We have already begun to understand how intricately theatre within theatre operates here, since the play produces its own meta-textual and meta-theatrical discourse: it foreshadows the reaction of the audience, or at least puts it in words before the end of the play. Aristione

19 Surgers A., *Scénographies du théâtre occidental* (Paris: 2000) and Cornuaille P., *Les Décors de Molière (1658–1674)* (Paris: 2015).

20 For more insight into the links between performance and politics under the reign of Louis XIV, see Apostolidès J.-M., *Le Roi-Machine: Spectacle et Politique au Temps de Louis XIV* (Paris: 1981).

even makes a comment about the comments she is supposed to make in the third act:

> Les mêmes paroles toujours se présentent à dire. Il faut toujours s'écrier 'voilà qui est admirable, il ne se peut rien de plus beau, cela passe tout ce qu'on a jamais vu.'[21]
>
> The same words always spring to mind, and one has to cry: 'That is admirable, there can be nothing so beautiful, it is beyond anything that I have ever seen.'[22]

In this line, the mirrored effect is even doubled, since Aristione almost comments on what she said in the first act about the difficulty of constantly praising the magnificent shows the princes put on. Language, through exaggeration and hyperbole, reflects the visual performance and the prolific grandeur of the court play. This kind of apparent allusion places the spectator at the heart of theatrical magnificence: it very literally magnifies theatre and theatricality. By introducing music and ballet on stage, and framing them with a fiction of rivalrous love, the theatre within a theatre makes the various components of the play and the physical co-presence of multiple art forms on the stage possible: the very system of the court play is staged and celebrated as such. The scene and the characters hold up a mirror in whose surface the audience can recognize themselves.

From a political point of view, this correspondence aligns with a representative and inclusive goal: the very thin, virtually indiscernible, line between staged scene and audience transforms the stage into a mechanism of identification and self-representation. The glory of aristocracy shines through a genre that is specially designed to suit its aesthetic expectations, while surprising it with a new degree of magnificence. The libretto clearly indicates that the ballet entrances were danced by aristocrats aided by a few professional dancers, and the costumes themselves were meant to reflect the beauty of aristocratic fashion. As Stephen Varick Dock puts it in a comprehensive study of the costumes in Molière's plays, 'the purpose of the comedy-ballet is to create a series of cameo settings to display the sartorial magnificence of aristocracy'.[23]

21 Molière, *Les Amants Magnifiques* 977.

22 Molière, *The Lavish Lovers* 214.

23 Varick Dock S., *Costumes in the Plays of Jean-Baptiste Poquelin Molière: a Seventeenth Century Perspective* (Geneva: 1992) 233.

This is particularly true in a play where aristocrats and professional dancers dance together. Such a representational issue is all the more important in a context where the traditional values of the aristocracy, inherited from the Middle-Ages and the Renaissance, were being questioned, put to the test and even constrained by the king's politics. After the aristocratic rebellion of the Fronde (1648–1653) against the royal power that left a very vivid and traumatic memory on the mind of the then young king, Louis XIV decided to completely change the way his court was ruled, and initiated a policy of increasingly centralised power and surveillance of the nobility. Generosity, magnificence, bravery, fortitude and lordship slowly seem, in the second half of the seventeenth century, to become exclusively royal virtues. Having been partially deprived of its values system, particularly in the field of war and autonomy, the aristocracy turned to ballet, a form of self-representation that had started to flourish during the Renaissance.[24] Norbert Elias, in *The Court Society*, shows how dance is the closest training to fencing, making it an aristocratic practice *par excellence*.[25] Hence, the court play in general takes up the task of offering a mirrored image to its audience, not only from an aesthetic perspective, but also from the space of political and social self-representation. In the case of *The Magnificent Lovers* and its embedded plot, this process is further emphasised by the blurring of the borders between the stage and the auditorium. The celebration of magnificence rebounds onto the audience with a richer artistic and political meaning: if the aristocracy is not the source of magnificence, it remains its ultimate visual inspiration and is the prerequisite for the process of identification toward at which Aristione gestures. This artistic magnificence compensates for the partial loss of political magnificence, which becomes more and more a royal privilege.

To grasp the full extent of this multiply embedded stage and system of narration, we must look at how love drives the performance and how this gallant theme also conceals political connotations and implications. They are all orchestrated by a story of lovers' rivalry, that ends up associating love and creative power. The central pastoral play, which tells the story of a love triangle, places love and gallantry at the centre of the play, and by the same token, love very much occupies the heart of the debates the play stages. Magnificence and generosity directed towards the wooed person, be it the audience or the young lady, come from a creative desire which, very quickly, strays from the plot to

24 To fully understand how the shifting of values in the relationship between aristocrats and the king has shaped the French stage, it is useful to consult Bénichou P., *Morales du Grand Siècle* (Paris: 1948).

25 Elias N., *The Court Society*, trans. E. Jephcott (Frankfurt: 1933; reprint, Oxford: 1983).

take on a meta-textual status. The king is the ultimate creative force from whom the play originates, as we have seen in the foreword.

The real competition at stake here, is not that among magnificent lovers, but rather involves the creative, competitive pattern of collaboration among Louis XIV, Molière and Lully: the play presents, at its core, a quest and a dispute over authorship. The king is a spectator but also the most magnificent character in the play, in the Aristotelian meaning of that term: he is generous and does not refrain from spending what is necessary for such a performance. He is also the first author of the play, as he provided its subject. The dramatist and the composer actually end up joining the rest of the performers.[26] Marie-Claude Canova-Green tackles this issue in an article about the question of authorship in comedy-ballets. They are by essence very plural works, where the author's voice becomes multi-layered, but at first sight, the king is the primary author, as he is the play's source. Because the royal intention is solely responsible for magnificence, the king seizes authorship and multiplies his presence as spectator, commissioner and monarch.[27]

In the ballet libretto, the source of magnificence becomes clearer as the play reaches ever higher levels of sophistication through the insertion of interludes, ending with an incomparable finale. The link between love, artistic creation and magnificence is emphasised in the final ballet where Apollo, dressed as the sun, sings:

> *Pour le roi, représentant le Soleil.*
> Je suis la source des clartés,
> Et les astres les plus vantés
> Dont le beau cercle m'environne,
> Ne sont brillants et respectés
> Que par l'éclat que je leur donne.
> Du char où je me puis asseoir
> Je vois le désir de me voir
> Posséder la nature entière,
> Et le monde n'a son espoir
> Qu'aux seuls bienfaits de ma lumière.
> Bienheureuses de toutes parts,

26 This is true at least in the context of the performance but changes with the edition of the play, where Molière puts his name as the author's name and omits both Lully and Beauchamp (the choreographer).

27 Canova-Green M.-C., "Les figures d'auteur dans les comédies-ballets de Molière", in *Molière et la fête. Actes du colloque international de Pézenas* (Pézenas: 2013) 157–171.

Et pleines d'exquises richesses
Les terres, où de mes regards
J'arrête les douces caresses.[28]

For the king, representing the sun.
I am the giver of the light,
And all the stars that seem so bright,
Ranged around me in a proud circle,
Can only prosper and shine
Because of the luster I give them.
From my chariot's lofty seat
I see that all the world wants me
To take in charge the whole of nature
And all put their hope completely
In my radiance, in my good humor.
Most fortunate in every way
And flowing with exquisite riches
Are the lands that are favored by
My caring and attentive glances.[29]

One must bear in mind that the king was supposed to dance this part, although he chose to drop it after the first performance, and that these words were meant for him. In this quote, Louis XIV represents the source of clarity and light ('the giver of light', 'the luster I give them'):[30] his power carries light and desire to the world.[31] Royal magnificence is embodied by the god of music, dance and poetry and connects the artistic ambitions of the monarch, the organisation of the most lavish party his court has ever seen, and the more political and warlike aspect of kingship. The king – or the god standing for him – reaches toward nature because he is entitled to do so. Magnificence appears then as the core value that binds all the different aspects of the royal *persona*. The redundancy

28 Molière, *Les Amants Magnifiques* 994–995.

29 Molière, *The Lavish Lovers* 231–232.

30 André Félibien provides a very vibrant description of what royal magnificence must have looked like in a small book which was originally commissioned by the king himself. This report, which focuses on the festivities of 1664, July 1668 and summer 1674, does not include the performance of *The Magnificent Lovers* but gives a good insight into the deep link between the magnificence of the show and the subsequent magnificence of its provider, the king. Félibien A., *Les Fêtes de Versailles* (Paris: 1674; reprint, Paris: 2012).

31 For a broader and detailed view on the magnificent taste of the king, see Maral A. and Milovanovic N. (eds.), *Louis XIV, l'Homme et le Roi*, exh. cat., Palace of Versailles (Paris: 2009).

of the verb 'voir' – 'to see' in the second stanza ('Je vois le désir de me voir / Posséder la nature entière'), which literally translates as 'I see all of nature possessed by its desire to see me', makes the king a new Orpheus, able to seduce all of nature and focusing all the attention on himself by his radiant, attractive artistry. The somewhat erotic last stanza circles back to the theme of opulence, which correlates with the universal love that seizes the monarch toward the whole world. The desiring eye and the fertile power of touch appear front and center in the libretto. The choice of a gallant plot seems then to have a much deeper connection to the manifestation of magnificence than one might have thought and love, understood as the gallant equivalent of the monarch's rightful claim to undisputed power, underlines the political grounding of magnificence in this play.

This can even explain one of the paradoxes of the play, which is the magnificent lovers' failure. None of them, indeed, succeeds in winning the heart of Ériphile, who prefers Sostrate, although he does not come from a noble lineage. She is in fact completely indifferent to the entertainments organised for her: her mother enjoys them and declares them magnificent, but Ériphile seems to take much more pleasure in the simple pantomimes of the second and fifth interludes. For Nobuko Akiyama, in an article which analyses how the court play creates a small world on the stage as a replica of the aristocratic world facing the stage, this preference betrays her love for Sostrate, a modest yet valiant warrior.[32] In the end, the play mostly ridicules the lovers and favours Sostrate, who is generous and brave, but not magnificent in the strictest sense of the word.

What purpose, then, does magnificence fulfil? How can it appear so decisive in the structure and aesthetic of the play if it has no claim on its outcome? Does *The Magnificent Lovers* celebrate, ultimately, a partial failure of the magnificent endeavour, and what does this mean as far as the grandeur of the king is concerned? The grand finale, with the king's dance and lyrics, exceeds the magnificence of the first ballet, and restores the synthetic quality of magnificence, insofar as the lovers' defeat had somewhat shattered its efficiency: it reconciles love and magnificence through the king's Apollonian appearance. From a literary and symbolic perspective, this allows the king to be associated with the lovers and with Sostrate: he is a magnificent lover, as he delights his subjects with a series of theatrical wonders, but he also embodies the courage and merit that are innate to Sostrate's character.

32 Akiyama N., "Deux comédies-ballets galantes de Molière: *la Princesse d'Élide* et *Les Amants magnifiques*", in *Molière et la fête. Actes du colloque international de Pézenas* (Pézenas: 2013) 35–49.

Through the last scene and the celebration of Apollo, the two sides of this god, who is both a poet and a warrior, are seen to reflect onto the king. The setting itself must have suggested this duality, as Manuel Couvreur points out in an in-depth analysis of the contemporary description of these settings: the curtain of the finale represented a sun with, on the right side, Apollo hovering in the air, victorious after his massacre of the cyclopes and the monstrous Python, and, on the left, Apollo atop Parnassus, surrounded by the Muses strewing all the arts with flowers. These two faces of the god Apollo are constantly echoed in the play, with Sostrate as the representative of war and glory, and the magnificent lovers as ambassadors of peace and pleasure.[33] Only the king and the Apollonian theme could conjoin these two dimensions into one magnificent scene.

The play, with this finale, embraces the themes of desire, love, power, music, dance and entertainment by over-exposing its aesthetic of royal authority through the staged apotheosis of Apollo, all of whose divine attributes (music, art, light, sun) were strongly associated with Louis XIV. The king's power finds in this scene an aesthetic and artistic equivalent. The lyrics refer to the whole of nature, 'la nature entière': the entire world, as it exists in this moment, is comprised by the auditorium and scale of Saint-Germain-en-Laye. This scenic synthesis intensifies the political scope of magnificence by linking it to universal love and desire. Magnificence does not merely divert the spectators' attention, it offers them an individual experience of intense aesthetic pleasure and enjoyment. As a consequence, this particular court play brings together the moral and artistic meanings of magnificence, moral as it refers to the king's virtue of *magnificentia*, and artistic as this very *magnificentia* allows for a display of talent and wonders that was unrivalled in the kingdom.[34]

But the text and its program actually did not match reality since the king stopped performing after the first presentation of the play and was replaced by the marquis of Villeroy for Neptune and the earl of Armagnac for Apollo. A frequent interpretation of this change of mind assumes that Louis XIV feared to be associated with Nero, whom Racine had represented in his *Britannicus* a few weeks earlier.[35] In this tragedy, Nero is reproached by his closest advisor

33 Couvreur M., "*Les Amants magnifiques*", in *Molière et la musique. Des États du Languedoc à la cour du Roi-Soleil* (Montpellier: 2004) 85–90.

34 This is in fact one of the many reasons why the finance minister, Nicolas Fouquet, was jailed, shortly after he gave a very lavish party at his estate in Vaux-le-Vicomte in 1661: under the absolute monarchy, after the Fronde and the rise to the throne of Louis XIV, *magnificentia* had to be nothing if not royal. For more on the topic, see Dessert D., *Fouquet* (Paris: 1985).

35 Racine J., *Britannicus* [1669], in *Théâtre – Poésie*, ed. G. Forestier (Paris: 1999).

for spending too much time on the stage and too little on the throne. The artist-sovereign does not display *magnificentia* but rather makes a fool of himself by desecrating his royal persona. Hence, a possible interpretation of the king's unwillingness to perform claims that seeing this play would have made him reconsider his presence on stage during court plays. Philippe Beaussant has proposed a different approach, stating that the king no longer needed to embody the whole array of symbols and signs of power (the sun, Apollo) which had become efficient on their own and could speak directly of the king's magnificence without showing it.[36] According to Beaussant, *The Magnificent Lovers* plays a major role in the shift from court ballets to proper French operas: it is the first 'spectacle total' or complete spectacle, where the theme of the party is the representation of the party itself. Therefore, he assumes that, with *The Lovers*, the play can be seen at a second degree, the solar metaphor of kingship having been accomplished. Anyone can now represent the sun as it no longer needs a physical embodiment; the correlation between the king and magnificence, and the authority he draws from it, have become manifest enough to be self-sufficient, without the support of staged performance. After declining to perform, he lets magnificence shine from his person while remaining in the audience.

From an aesthetic point of view, this absence on the stage and presence in the text and in the symbols further highlights the anamorphic design of the play and returns magnificence to its Latin etymology (*magnum facere*): not only does the court look at itself in a mirror, but now the king can also admire a fictional, artistic and multifaceted version of his magnificent *persona* through all the different lovers, including Sostrate, and the gods. The fusion between the stage and the room is complete. The stage grows vast enough to hold the audience within its aesthetic borders: this court play does not resort to a break of theatrical illusion as much as it becomes, for both poetic and contingent reasons, a fiction that merges with reality and contains it. Magnificence emerges and concludes the play as a drama (a theatrical fiction) overflowing its boundaries. Fiction and enchantment expand beyond the scene and unify the realm of illusion and the court.

36 Beaussant P. – Bouchenot-Déchin P., *Les Plaisirs de Versailles: Théâtre et musique* (Paris: 1996).

3 The Autonomy of Magnificence

The Magnificent Lovers is not the last court play, but it is a significant turning point in Lully and Molière's collaboration. The very theme of magnificence is celebrated by the characters, and the king's absence in the performance enhances a progressive autonomy of magnificence as an aesthetic category, as the artistic and political criterion that separates the court play from other theatrical genres. It can now be defined as the faculty that embraces the scene and the audience in a same space by pushing away the boundaries of fiction and, simultaneously, maintaining the fascination of the senses, holding bound by enchantment. This sense of magnificence is rooted in the audience's pleasure and its ability to be overwhelmed and included in the staged fiction.

Magnificence, in the specific context we are discussing, draws its nobility, its elevated tone, from what Susan Foster in her book about psychology and performance called 'kinaesthesia in performance'.[37] She analysed how, during a ballet, every member of the audience mentally mimics the gesture of the dancer and how they draw pleasure from that mental exercise of imitation. The pleasure of the spectator is, in her view, an empathetic pleasure, grounded in physical and emotional communication. She explains her theory with examples from both the baroque and the contemporary repertoire. In a way, *The Magnificent Lovers* anticipates the reaction of the audience by putting the very first words of the play under the seal of magnificence, after a grand demonstration of what magnificence can make and create. This play is as much about magnificence as it speaks about the audience's pleasure. Hence, magnificence elevates this comedy: it is an entertainment fit for a king and an aristocratic audience, designed solely for this purpose and its attendant circumstances. The pleasure of the audience during the performance depends on a strong empathy, if not a process of identification that allows noble characters to appear in a comedy.

Traditionally in French classical theatre, and after the strengthening of the separation between genres, noble characters with lofty aspirations and dealings appear only in tragedy, whereas comedy stages lawyers, merchants or peasants who do not belong to an aristocratic background. Magnificence, as experienced in our play, maintains the lightness of comedy while representing noble characters pursuing noble activities, much like the one the audience knows: they go hunting and enjoy beautiful entertainments. Furthermore, the magnificence of the party allows for the intervention of magical and romantic developments that were more generally reserved for the novel, as Noémie

37 Foster S., *Choreographing empathy. Kinesthesia in performance* (Abingdon: 2011).

Courtès points out in an article about the romantic and novelistic tension in *The Magnificent Lovers*: this kind of plot, where sudden twists happen and where magic occurs is at the core of the romantic and novelistic literary tradition, and had been more or less banished from comedy after 1630. The peculiar frame of the court play and the explicit theme of the aristocratic gallant party revives a tradition from another genre and put it into comedy to create a sense of surprise that elevates comedy to another generic form.[38]

Therefore, through this process, magnificence appears as the most adequate way to impart nobility into comedy.[39] Magnificence, as we see here, also demonstrates that the strict partition of the French classical theatre, just described, between the tragedy and the comedy,[40] is incomplete. It does not take into account a variety of plays in which the abundance of means and the anamorphic design infuse the gallant comedy with a unique nobility that depends on its provider and witnesses. This is exactly what Aristione says: she qualifies the entertainment as 'noble', 'great' and 'majestic' in the first act, thus expressing the aesthetic values that distinguish the play. Magnificence makes a hybrid genre understandable and autonomous. The stage direction for the sea-themed ballet points out this genre-related hybridity, but resolves it by way of magnificence. Although it is quite long, it deserves our full attention for just this reason:

> Le théâtre s'ouvre à l'agréable bruit de quantité d'instruments, et d'abord il offre aux yeux une vaste mer, bordée de chaque côté de quatre grands rochers, dont le sommet porte chacun un fleuve, accoudé sur les marques de ces sortes de déités. Au pied de ces rochers sont douze tritons de chaque côté, et dans le milieu de la mer quatre amours montés sur des dauphins, et derrière eux le Dieu Éole élevé au-dessus des ondes sur un petit nuage. Éole commande aux vents de se retirer, et tandis que quatre amours, douze tritons, et huit fleuves lui répondent, la mer se calme, et du milieu des ondes on voit s'élever une île. Huit pêcheurs sortent du fond

38 Courtès N., "L'impossible romanesque des *Amants Magnifiques*", in *Molière et le jeu. Actes du colloque international de Pézenas* (Pézenas: 2005) 77–93.

39 It also becomes a key concept to understand Molière's career. Very often, critics tend to divide his work into the more farce-like comedies (like *Les Fourberies de Scapin – Scapin the Schemer*) and the more serious comedies (like *Le Misanthrope – The Misanthrope*), which are a more evolved, refined and noble version of comedy. Court plays tend to be neglected, when they reveal, in fact a different and much loved way to make comedies.

40 Of course some other genres escaped this partition between tragedy and comedy, like the tragic-comedy or the heroic comedy but they slowly lost popularity, especially in the second half of the century.

> de la mer avec des nacres de perles, et des branches de corail, et après une danse agréable vont se placer chacun sur un rocher au-dessous d'un fleuve. Le chœur de la musique annonce la venue de Neptune, et tandis que ce dieu danse avec sa suite, les pêcheurs, les tritons, et les fleuves accompagnent ses pas de gestes différents, et de bruits de conques de perle. Tout ce spectacle est une magnifique galanterie, dont l'un des princes régale sur la mer la promenade des princesses.[41]

> The curtain opens to the pleasant sound of a great number of instruments and a vast sea is revealed, bordered on each side of the stage by four great rocks, each topped by a river god, reclining on objects associated with this type of divinity. At the base of the rocks are twelve tritons on each side, and in the middle of the sea, four cupids mounted on dolphins, and behind them, the god Aeolus raised above the surface of the waves on a little cloud. Aeolus commands the winds to withdraw, and, while the cupids, the tritons, and the river gods answer him, the sea grows calm, and in the middle of the waves, an island rises. Eight fishermen emerge from the depths of the sea holding conches decorated with pearls and branches of coral, and, after a pleasant dance, they place themselves on the rocks beneath the river gods. The orchestra announces the arrival of Neptune, and while this god dances with his retinue, the fishermen, tritons, and river gods make various gestures and blow in their conches to accompany his steps. This spectacle is a magnificent gallantry offered by one of the princes to entertain the princesses of their walk.[42]

Paradoxically, the scenic space tends here to be narrowed to an island, which represents the epitome of the gallant setting. Both in Lully's operas and in previous court plays, the island offers, on a somewhat small space, a high concentration of magnificence.[43] The librettist insists on the plethora of people present on stage, which accentuates this visual density. The last sentence is particularly relevant to our study: Molière sums up what is offered to the audience's eyes and ears as a 'magnificent gallantry', as the exuberant visual result of a generous disposition. This phrase, an encapsulation of the prior long enumeration of constituent elements, seems to define magnificence as a meeting point between excess and harmony: it gathers cupids, tritons, river gods and Aeolus around Neptune's appearance. What might have looked or sounded chaotic is

41 Molière, *Les Amants Magnifiques* 947.
42 Molière, *The Lavish Lovers* 183.
43 It is the case, for instance in *The Princess of Elid* and in the opera *Armide*.

orchestrated by the music, the lyrics and the dance, designed to highlight the presence of the god. Magnificence unlocks a paradox and emerges from the organization of excess in a harmonious pattern.

This pattern is not unlike the architecture of Versailles where Neptune and Apollo also are central deities in the layout of the park – no coincidence to be sure,[44] since the use of mythology was always carefully curated by the king and the artists with whom he worked at various stages in the construction of the palace; and it was the king's prerogative to choose mythological topics for court ballets. The strong emphasis on the opening and the finale also deeply structures the play by a progression from water to fire, from sea to sun, from austere virtue, attributed to Neptune, to abundant generosity, attributed to Apollo. The combination of these two elements was also recurrent in other court plays and parties, and happened for instance at the end of *The Pleasures of the Enchanted Island* in 1664. *The Magnificent Lovers* actually transfers, according to Nobuko Akiyama, the microcosm of Versailles onto the stage, with the reference to the water games including fireworks of which the court was so fond, and that appeared at every courtly entertainment. In fact, the setting for this first ballet was the slightly modified version of a setting that had already been used for the *Noces de Thétis et de Pélée* (*The Wedding of Thetis and Peleus*) in 1654 and for the *Grand Divertissement Royal de Versailles* (*The Great Royal Entertainment of Versailles*) in 1668. She concludes that this movement back and forth between the real space of the Versailles gardens and the theatrical space must have reinforced the comic illusion and helped blur the line between the real and the fictional world to the eyes of the audience.[45] This careful parallelism demonstrates that *The Magnificent Lovers* is part of a complete and conscious aesthetic scheme, wherein the rivalry of lovers is a powerful pretext for putting magnificence in perspective. It is the culminating point of the era of public royal performance.

Therefore, the strong appeal of this play really depends on the sense of magnificence. From a critical point of view, magnificence extends the scenic stage and aims, in this play, to hold the audience, the actors, the dancers and the musicians in the same space. It also expands the possibilities of comedy and gives it nobility through a different channel than the one specific to tragedy.

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44 Néraudau J.-P., "La mythologie à Versailles au temps de Louis XIV. Architecture, jardins et musique", *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 1 (1988) 72–85, and Leconte T., "Mythes et ballet de cour au XVIIe siècle: le 'Ballet du roi' et la construction d'une mythologie royale", *Dix-septième siècle* 272 (2016) 427–446.

45 Akiyama N., "Deux comédies galantes de Molière: *La Princesse d'Élide* et *Les Amants Magnifiques*", in *Molière et la fête. Actes du colloque international de Pézenas* (Pézenas: 2013) 44.

With *The Magnificent Lovers*, the court play reaches a high level of reflexion and autonomy in both the theatrical genre and the habitus performance: magnificence now radiates from the stage as an effect of the arts performed in front of an aristocratic audience. It outgrows its Aristotelian original definition, as a virtue, to offer an original approach to theatrical genres and appeal to the audience's emotion and pleasure: it showcases not only what political power and authority can create, but also associates this embodied power with a sense of love and desire that entitles the king to be the only magnificent one. Political uniqueness is tied to a unique right to magnificence that leads to a progressive autonomy of the genre this criterion sets apart.

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